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Woodrow Wilson: Centennial Interpretations

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NINETEEN fifty-six, the centennial of Woodrow Wilson's birth, brought forth a remarkable group of books—the second volume of a definitive life, two short biographies, a psychological study of Wilson's relationship with Colonel House, a complete edition of his 1912 campaign speeches, a fine selection of his writings from undergraduate days to retirement, and a collection of personal tributes. This in addition to innumerable articles in newspapers and scholarly and popular journals, and addresses at Wilson centennial observances across the land. All in all it forms an impressive tribute to the continuing importance of Woodrow Wilson and a basis for an up-to-date evaluation of the man and his work.

I

Of the seven books bearing the 1956 imprint, the most important is *Wilson: the New Freedom,*[1] by Arthur S. Link, whose rare combination of careful research, sound historical judgment,

[1] *Wilson: The New Freedom,* by Arthur S. Link. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956. ix + 504 pages.)

THE WRITER is a leading authority on recent American political history, with particular interest in the Wilson era. Dr. Noble, a member of the history department of Pratt Institute, is the author of *New Jersey Progressivism under Wilson* and other PROCEEDINGS contributions.

and effective literary style has made him the leading Wilson scholar of our generation. This is political biography at its best, neither eulogizing nor debunking, avoiding the dubious techniques of the amateur psychoanalyst, and seeking the truth in the historical evidence. It is the second volume of a projected full-length biography; the first volume, *Wilson: the Road to the White House*,[2] was of special importance to New Jersey history, since in bringing Wilson up through the 1912 campaign it dealt extensively with his Princeton and Trenton experiences.

The volume under review takes Wilson from his election as President in November of 1912 through the Congressional elections of 1914. It thus encompasses his last anticlimactic months as governor of New Jersey, his aggressive and successful fight as President for tariff, banking, and anti-trust reform, and his astonishing Central American policy, especially the tortuous dealings with revolutionary Mexico. His domestic accomplishments were impressive: downward revision of the tariff, an issue upon which two previous administrations had foundered, was won through a brilliant display of Presidential leadership; the Federal Reserve Act, "the greatest single piece of constructive legislation of the Wilson era," was hammered out; and the Clayton and Federal Trade Commission Acts were passed. At the base of these achievements, and more important than any one of them, was the "expansion and perfection of the powers of the presidency," which Link singles out as perhaps Wilson's "most lasting contribution."

It has long been apparent that there was no real radicalism in Wilson's presidency. He campaigned in 1912 on the essentially Jeffersonian platform of the "New Freedom": unlike Theodore Roosevelt, whose opposing "New Nationalism" accepted industrial bigness and proposed to regulate it, Wilson hoped to restore "equal justice under law" by removing the tariff privilege and by defining and prohibiting unfair competitive practices. This, he believed, plus a banking system freed from Wall Street domination, would enable the little man, "the man on the make,"

[2]Published by Princeton University Press in 1947. Link is also the author of two Wilson studies in the *New American Nation Series;* one, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York: Harper & Brothers) appeared in 1954, and the other, covering the war years, is still in preparation.

to compete successfully with the trusts, and would force the latter to exist, if they existed at all, on the basis of superior efficiency and service rather than by unfair business methods. Wilson had no sympathy in these years with those advanced reformers who sought social justice through positive legislation. He opposed women's suffrage, federal child labor laws, a rural credit system, and any really effective labor provisions in the anti-trust laws, and allowed his Cabinet members to introduce racial segregation in their departments. He made distressingly conservative appointments to the Interstate Commerce Commission and the new Federal Reserve Board, and spoke in 1914 as though his reform program were completed. But the realities of politics and the realities of the problems themselves were to force Wilson to adopt a more and more progressive program, women's suffrage, child labor laws, farm credits, and all. This Mr. Link will discuss in a subsequent volume, but even in 1914, as he so clearly shows, Wilson's Federal Trade Commission, with its regulatory powers over business, was in concept much nearer to Roosevelt's New Nationalism that it was to Wilson's own New Freedom.

Despite the disappointments of the advanced reformers, the domestic record of Wilson's first two years as President was brilliant; can as much be said for the foreign policy? Mr. Link definitely thinks not, as he critically surveys our Latin American relations. A large share of the difficulty he finds in "the way in which Wilson and Bryan were entangled by their own good intentions and inadequacies." Both wanted "to lead so-called backward peoples toward stability and democratic institutions"; both "accepted as axiomatic the assumptions that the extension of American influence meant the advancement of the welfare of native peoples and that American statesmen like themselves were in a better position to advance that welfare than were the native leaders." As Wilson once put it in a revealing sentence, "I am going to teach the South American Republics to elect good men!" Inevitably a policy of helpfulness, undertaken in this quixotic and paternalistic spirit, "led first to intervention in internal affairs, next to occupation or control through other means, and finally, in the case of Mexico, which was strong enough to resist, to war."

But as sometimes happens, a policy in many ways deplorable led to results in some ways good. Wilson's Mexican diplomacy was naive and romantic, driven into inconsistencies and prevarications, and finally winning the enmity of all Mexican factions. Yet the net results, as Link himself has pointed out elsewhere,[3] was to defeat reaction and to further progress in Mexico. The ultra-conservative Huerta regime had been recognized by most foreign countries, it was gathering strength in Mexico itself, and it is hard to see what, short of American action, would have stopped its ultimate consolidation of power.

What *should* Wilson have done? A "realistic" conservative would have recognized Huerta and thereby blocked Mexican reform for perhaps a generation. Wilson, the "idealistic" liberal, hoped moral force alone would beat Huerta but was driven inexorably into military intervention. Would a "realistic" liberal have concluded early in the game that the only practicable alternative to Huerta was Carranza and the Constitutionalists, that this alternative was preferable, and that it was attainable by lifting the arms embargo (which Wilson finally had to do anyway)? Mr. Link does not speculate on possible alternatives; perhaps he will have something to say on this when he winds up the Mexican story in a subsequent volume.

This emphasis on the public aspects of Wilson's early presidency should not imply that Link neglects the personal. He gives a careful analysis of Wilson's character, with its blend of great strength and startling weakness. We get charming glimpses of the Wilson family at home in the White House, and a moving account of the illness and death of his beloved first wife—much of this in Wilson's own words as set down in his letters and in conversations recorded by intimates. There are sharply etched portraits of Wilson's official circle. The estimate of Bryan is especially noteworthy, for with full recognition of the Great Commoner's idiosyncracies and his naivete in foreign affairs, Link pays deserved tribute to his indispensable assistance in getting the Wilson reform program accepted by his large personal following in the Congress and in the country. But none

[3]See his *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (1954), p. 144.

of the subordinates ever takes the play away from Wilson, who dominated his administration as he dominates the book.

II

The two new short biographies differ in quality and in approach. John A. Garraty's *Woodrow Wilson,*[4] the latest volume in the *Great Lives in Brief* series, is a straightforward account, sympathetic to Wilson although aware of his faults, written, as the dust jacket proclaims, for the intelligent reader who wants more than an encyclopedia article but less than the long "standard" biography. It is without the paraphernalia of footnote references, but the final chapter is an informative, readable bibliographical essay which gives a good overview of the principal Wilson literature. Mr. Garraty favors a rather staccato style, with many short, quick sentences; the space limitations leave inadequate time for complex explanations; but the book gains momentum as it progresses and is particularly effective in its narration of Wilson's last great battle. Given the difficult task of telling the long and complicated Wilson story in two hundred small pages, Mr. Garraty has provided the beginning reader with a balanced though necessarily limited account.

John M. Blum's study[5] is more philosophical in tone and much richer in interpretation. No estimate of Wilson can ignore the tremendous role that moral concepts played in his thought and in his action, and this ethical strain provides the unifying theme for *Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality.* It is the latest volume in the *Library of American Biography,* and its author is perhaps best know to New Jersey readers for his fine life of Jerseyman Joe Tumulty which appeared some six years ago.

Mr. Blum sees Wilson as an essentially nineteenth-century figure ("even in his own day he was something of a period piece") grappling with the harsh conditions of a twentieth-century world. "All issues were for him primarily moral and

[4] *Woodrow Wilson: a Great Life in Brief,* by John A. Garraty. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. 206 + vi pages.)

[5] *Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality,* by John Morton Blum. (*The Library of American Biography,* edited by Oscar Handlin. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1956. vi + 215 pages.)

personal"; he based his policies—whether at Princeton, Trenton or Washington—on lofty ethical principles which often blinded him to the realities of power. In common, it must be confessed, with many of his American contemporaries, he believed that "Anglo-American constitutional arrangements, like much of the rest of Anglo-Saxon culture, had somehow a special moral as well as historical basis," and that "United States had a predestined obligation to bring constitutionalism to the world." With this view he launched upon what we might call a "moral imperialism" which on occasion had results as unhappy as the old-fashioned economic and political varieties. Viewing the European hostilities from the same ethical stance, he based American policy on the tangential issue of neutral rights rather than the basic issue of national security, and he lost the fight for the League largely because of his own illusions.

Yet his heritage, says Mr. Blum, was mainly for the good: his belief in individual responsibility and opportunity, his suspicion of privilege and of concentrated power, and his realization that the United States must play continuously and responsibly a leading part in world affairs in company with other nations. For "though moralizing confuses, morals do not, nor does ascetic dedication to the task of governing"; and after a period of reaction, men would turn to his ideals once again.

III

Still, the enigma of Wilson's personality remains. Why was he under the compulsion to clothe every act in righteous garments? Why could he be so flexible at some times—shifting from conservative to liberal during the 1910 gubernatorial, from liberal to advanced progressive during the 1916 presidential campaign—while at others he threw away all hopes of victory by a stubborn unwillingness to compromise at all? Why did his successive careers—as president of Princeton, governor of New Jersey, and President of the United States—follow the same fateful pattern of brilliant initial achievement, then deadlock, then final defeat? An answer in psychological terms is advanced by two political scientists with strong psychological interests,

Alexander L. and Juliette L. George, in their *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House.*[6]

The Wilson-House collaboration is one of the remarkable personal stories in American history. Just as Wilson, from boyhood on, dreamed of becoming a great national political leader, so Edward M. House dreamed of becoming the influential adviser to such a leader. Their collaboration succeeded for so long because each met deep needs in the other, needs which arose out of their childhood situations.

Wilson, the Georges contend, had been dominated as a boy by his Presbyterian minister father, who was determined that his son should be righteous and learned, and able to express his thoughts in flawless English. The son was a slow learner and the father a hard taskmaster, stinging the boy with his caustic wit, making him write compositions over and over until they were letter-perfect. The strict Calvinism of the Wilson home and the stern treatment at the hands of his father had two lasting effects on Wilson: he was filled with a deep self-distrust, so that forever after he was under the compulsion to *prove* to himself that he was good and great, and he was filled with a deep but unconscious hostility toward his father. His aggressiveness toward his father Wilson completely suppressed; he was always a most dutiful and loving son; but the suppressed aggressiveness burst out whenever in later years a father-figure seemed likely to impose the old pattern of dominance.

How does this help explain Wilson's career? His basic though unconscious self-mistrust drove him to seek leadership roles in which he could prove his worth to the world and to himself. The causes for which he fought must be righteous causes; or rather, he must convince himself of their righteousness, even though they were causes which he had previously opposed. When the circumstances were favorable, when he was in command of the situation, his inner drive for self-justification was a powerful force for achievement, and he could exhibit flexibility and political astuteness in reaching his goals. Thus he led the

[6] *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: a Personality Study*, by Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George. (New York: The John Day Company, c. 1956. vi + 362 pages.)

Princeton faculty and trustees, the New Jersey Legislature of 1911, the United States Congress of 1913-14 to astonishing achievements of educational, state, and national reform. But once his leadership was stubbornly and effectively challenged, once a situation arose which threatened to repeat the ancient dominance of father over son, then Wilson's fear of being dominated, his old suppressed aggressiveness toward the father, destroyed his judgment, and forced him to fight a bitter personal battle, although rationalized as an unselfish fight for the right. At Princeton the father-figure was Dean Andrew Fleming West, with whom Wilson clashed on the issue of the graduate school. So determined was Wilson to defeat West that at one point he refused a compromise that might have saved the substance of his program. In the fight over the League, the father-figure was Henry Cabot Lodge: so determined was Wilson to defeat Lodge that he refused even the mildest reservations to the League covenant, thus playing into the hands of the irreconcilables and losing any chance for the League.

Where did Colonel House fit into this? Wilson desperately needed friends to bolster his self-esteem; they must not be friends who stood up to him, but ones who loved and admired him uncritically. House was not uncritical of Wilson—his diary shows that—but he recognized how careful he must be never to cross Wilson and how constantly he must assure him of his (Wilson's) intelligent, able, and righteous leadership. This was not mere hypocricy, for House agreed with the President's chief policies and genuinely admired him. By shunning publicity, asking no favors for himself, seeking only to influence events through Wilson, House was able to give the President the kind of advice, affection, and emotional support which he had to have. It was only when House stepped out of the adviser's role and accepted a place on the Paris peace commission that he aroused Wilson's ire. The President, influenced in part by his second wife, who thought House a syophant, could not stand to have him playing a *public* role, receiving public recognition, and on occasion criticising the President for his handling of the treaty negotiations. This was not the sort of friendship the Presi-

dent's bruised ego craved, and the breach with House became inevitable.

As the Georges frankly recognize, this psychological thesis is not one which can be "proved" in a scientific sense—or in a historical sence, for that matter, in the usual meaning of the word "historical." They have the good judgment not to argue with the reader, but to present their case calmly and let him decide. Assuming the validity of the thesis, it might go far to help explain certain facets of Wilson's character which all his biographers recognize: his need for uncritical friendship, his inability to work with men who disagreed with him, the contrast between his political finesse when the tide was in his favor and his stubborn rigidity when faced with implacable opposition. The Georges of course make telling use of Wilson's conduct of the League of Nations fight with the Senate, and perhaps underestimate the devastating effects which fatigue and illness had upon his judgment. But, they might retort, granted that illness affected his judgment, is it not significant that it affected it in such a characteristic direction?

Many readers will find this study fascinating; no doubt many, like this reviewer, will want time to think it over before deciding whether to try to integrate it with their existing picture of the wartime President.

IV

There are always, happily, some readers who want to supplement the biographies with a full taste of the man's own words. In Wilson's case this has been made easier by two attractive centennial volumes of his speeches and writings. The first, of perhaps more interest to the professional historian than to the average reader, is *A Crossroads of Freedom: the 1912 Campaign Speeches of Woodrow Wilson,*[7] edited with scrupulous care by John Wells Davidson and published for the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. It is welcome for two reasons: the only earlier collection of the 1912 speeches was so drastically edited as to

[7] *A Crossroads of Freedom: the 1912 Campaign Speeches of Woodrow Wilson,* edited by John Wells Davidson, with a preface by Charles Seymour. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956. xviii + 570 pages.) Published for the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

be practically an independent work, and second, the contemporary newspaper accounts vary greatly from what Wilson actually said, since he spoke extemporaneously with little regard for the advanced texts. But he had with him on the campaign an able young shorthand reporter named Charles L. Swem, who took down verbatim both the sceduled addresses and the impromptu rear-platform speeches at the whistle-stops.[8] It is largely from Swem's notes that Mr. Davidson's volume is constructed, so that we now have for the first time a practically complete[9] transcript of the whole New Freedom campaign. The editor gives a brief setting for each speech, and, in the case of some of the more important ones, excerpts from the press reactions.

It is an interesting experience to accompany Wilson on this canvass under Mr. Davidson's expert guidance. The editorial introductions are well done, getting across the mounting excitement of the campaign as well as the gruelling task of speaking to vast throngs, day after day, at ball parks and race tracks, in public halls and coliseums, without benefit of radio, television, or public address systems. The speeches themselves, being extemporaneous, lack the polish of Wilson's carefully prepared addresses, but it is good to hear a candidate speak for himself without ghost writers or literary advisers. And a high-level campaign it was, with very few personal attacks on his opponents, little levity, but a serious, if not profound, discussion of the issues.

The question remains, will the historians have to revise their accounts of Wilson's 1912 campaign in the light of the full text? No doubt they will, in some of its details. Mr. Davidson feels that Wilson showed more passion for social reform than he has been given credit for; that he was far from a mere advocate of outworn laissez-faire as Theodore Roosevelt charged. It is true that on occasion—in a rear-platform speech at Allentown, in a fine address on "Human Rights" at Minneapolis—Wilson did sound the call for social justice and advocated such specific objectives as the abolition of child labor and the prevention of

[8]Mr. Swen, native of New Jersey, was an official court reporter of the New York State Supreme Court at the time of his death, Dec. 28, 1956.

[9]The few omissions are clearly indicated and explained by the editor.

unreasonable hours of toil. Yet the total effect of the campaign is that of a candidate suspicious of too much government, primarily interested in tariff, banking, and trust reform, and insistent that he stood for a government of laws (e.g., specific legislation to restore competition) as opposed to a government of men (i.e., such regulatory commissions as Roosevelt proposed). The historical fraternity can be nothing but grateful to Mr. Davidson for making the bases for independent judgment on these points so readily available.

The other volume, quite different in design, is *The Politics of Woodrow Wilson: Selections from His Speeches and Writings,*[10] edited by August Heckscher, president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. From an early article on cabinet government, written while he was a Princeton undergraduate, down to the only major statement of his years of retirement, the selections span Wilson's career and include little-known as well as familiar products of his pen. The result is an excellent cross-section of Wilson's best writing—as a student of history and government, as an educator, and as a statesman—through which can be traced the development both of his style and of his thought.

Every reader will have his own favorite passages as he peruses this excellent book. From Wilson's early political writings there emerges a striking picture of the weakness of the Presidency which he later did so much to remedy, while a selection from his 1908 *Constitution Government* gives a preview of the role he was to play as a strong President, "at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can." In his educational addresses there stand out sentiments as needed today as when he spoke: that the chief aim of a college should be the intellectual development of the student, with athletics and other activities in a useful but subordinate role; that college should educate for more than the job. "The college should make the men it receives something more than excellent servants of a trade or skilled practitioners of a profession. It should give them elasticity of faculty and breadth of vision, so that they shall have a surplus

[10] *The Politics of Woodrow Wilson: Selections from His Speeches and Writings,* edited, with an introduction, by August Heckscher. (New York: Harper & Brothers, *c.* 1956. xxiv + 389 pages.)

of mind to expend, not upon their profession only, for its liberalization and enlargement, but also upon the broader interests which lie about them, in the spheres in which they are to be, not breadwinners merely, but citizens as well, and in their own hearts, where they are to grow to the stature of real nobility."

There is an item of particular local interest: a Turneresque address on the influence of the West, delivered before the New Jersey Historical Society in Newark in 1895.[11] There are interesting letters written while Wilson was President: one affectionately but firmly turning down his own brother's request for appointment to the Nashville postmastership; another ably defending his nomination of Louis D. Brandeis for the Supreme Court. And there are such famous and oft-times moving addresses as the first inaugural, the war message of April 1917, the fourteen points, and the great speeches on behalf of the League in Europe and the United States. One is struck particularly by the growth of Wilson's mastery of the language when the sometimes diffuse, flowery early style (illustrated for example by the 1897 *Atlantic Monthly* article reproduced here on pages 55 to 63) is compared with the leaner, harder rhetoric of the Presidential years.[12]

V

The Greatness of Woodrow Wilson,[13] the last of the books, can appropriately be considered with the commemorative programs held in his honor during the centennial year. Edited by Em Bowles Alsop, a member of the Woodrow Wilson Centennial Celebration Commission, it brings together some seventeen tributes under such titles as "The Man of Faith," "The Educator," "The Internationalist," "The Prophet"; it is written by such diverse contributors as Virginius Dabney, Walter Lippmann, Claude Bowers, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, and Dag Hammarskjold. As history, it suffers from its frankly commemorative character; much of it is pure eulogy. But there are solid items: Harold W. Dodds' essay on Wilson's educational

[11]First printed in the PROCEEDINGS, 2nd Series, XIII (1894-95), 367-92.

[12]But see T. H. Vail Motter's comment in *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* Spring 1956, p. 163 ff., discussed below.

[13]*The Greatness of Woodrow Wilson,* arranged and edited by Em Bowles Alsop, with an introduction by Dwight D. Eisenhower. (Rinehart & Co., New York: c. 1956. xiv + 268 pages.)

reforms and their continuing influence at Princeton; Arthur S. Link's discussion of Wilson as a Progressive; Katharine E. Brand's informative description of the Wilson manuscripts and other pertinent material in the Library of Congress; and Walter Lippmann's interesting conjecture that it was Grover Cleveland who first showed Wilson that the Presidency might again become a powerful office and that perhaps we did not need the English cabinet system after all. At the very least, the book gives an indication of the varied personalities in widely diverse fields by whom the Wilson influence is felt.[14]

When we turn from the Wilson books to other recognitions of his centennial, it becomes impossible to list, let alone discuss, the tributes paid him during 1956. But in this New Jersey periodical it is not amiss to indicate, at least, the major ways in which he was honored in the state where he first made his national reputation.

Wilson's intimate association with Princeton University was signalized by a year-long series of centennial events. Alumni Day, February 18, was organized around the Wilson theme. President Harold W. Dodds, in an address on "Wilson, the Educator," told how Wilson "lifted the sights of higher education in America both by the impact of his philosophy and by what he achieved at Princeton." Judge Harold R. Medina of the New York Court of Appeals, who graduated from Princeton the year before Wilson left to become President, discussed his influence on the Princeton undergraduate of 1902 to 1910. Returning alumni honored Wilson's 1905 establishment of Princeton's "preceptorial system" by holding alumni "precepts"—small informal discussion groups of students with a faculty member—on the subject, "The Making of a Liberal Education, and Why?" In addition, the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* of February 17 included a special eight-page portfolio of pictures entitled "Woodrow Wilson at Princeton," and the *Daily Princetonian,* the student newspaper, brought out a special centennial issue.

On March 2 to 4, a conference on "The Political Executive in

[14]Still another book, noted too late to include in this article, is *The Wilson Reader,* a collection of writings by and about Wilson, compiled and edited by Frances Farmer, librarian of the University of Virginia Law School, and published in the New Docket Series of paperbacks by Oceana Publications, New York.

the National Government," scheduled as part of the centennial observance by the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, brought some sixty leaders in government, business, education, and journalism to Princeton. In April and May, the Stafford Little Lectures, the University's most distinguished public lecture series, were devoted to Wilson, with addresses by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker and Edward S. Corwin, Professors Emeriti of American History and Jurisprudence at Princeton; Denis W. Brogan, Professor of Political Science at Cambridge University, England; and Gerald W. Johnson, journalist, commentator, and Wilson biographer. In August, the University announced the establishment of the Woodrow Wilson Award, to be given annually to an outstanding alumnus in recognition of activities "In the Nation's Service," a phrase which Wilson made famous. And on December 28, Wilson's birthday, Princeton University Press published Link's *Wilson: the New Freedom*.[15]

Meanwhile, the Princeton University Library, from its magnificent collection of Wilson material, arranged a comprehensive exhibit of over 250 items which was on view from February 18 through April 15. The Spring 1956 issue of the *Princeton University Library Chronicle* is in itself an important centennial publication. The first 150 pages are a description and catalogue of the Wilson exhibit; the material is expertly organized to give the reader a panorama of Wilson's career, an appreciation of his wide influence, and a realization of the richness of the Princeton Woodrow Wilson Collection. An article by Alexander P. Clark describes the additions made to the Collection since 1945, and T. H. Vail Motter discusses Wilson's oft-criticized style in an article called "Woodrow Wilson and the Power of Words." It is his suggestive contention that the change from Wilson's "literary" style—employed when he was primarily a writer—to the style of his political addresses was a deliberate one; that as far back as 1890 in his essay *Leaders of Men* Wilson explicitly recognized that whereas the *writer* could pay attention to delicate shadings

[15]The Princeton references are based on the University's Department of Public Information press releases of Feb. 18, Feb. 26, April 30, Aug. 5, and Dec. 28, 1956, and *New York Times*, Feb. 12, 55:3; Feb. 19, 42:3; Feb. 26, 54:3.

and careful qualifying phrases, the *man of action,* the leader-spokesman, had to deal in broad strokes, absolutes, and generalizations. "Wilson could write both ways, accommodating his style to the requirements of the occasion."

At nearby Rutgers University the centennial was marked by an important Conference on Coalition Diplomacy, held at Douglass College on May 18 and 19 under the direction of James N. Rosenau of the Department of History and Political Science. More than twenty outstanding practitioners and scholars in the field of foreign relations attended, and wrestled with the military, economic, and diplomatic problems involved in maintaining the "coalition of the free world."[16]

At the state capital, scene of Wilson's gubernatorial triumphs, his centennial was not forgotten. The most important ceremony was the dedication of a memorial plaque now on permanent display in the state house. At exercises held in the War Memorial Building on November 14, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, the widow of the President, and two of his great-grandchildren, Jessie Wilson Sayre and Thomas Hart Sayre, unveiled the plaque, and invocation and benediction were offered by Wilson's grandson, the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean of the Washington Cathedral. The speakers were New Jersey's Governor Robert B. Meyner, President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University, and Jonathan Daniels, editor and publisher of the Raleigh, N. C., *News and Observer,* whose father was Josephus Daniels, Wilson's Secretary of the Navy. In his address Governor Meyner paid tribute to Wilson's strengthening of the office of governor, a contribution often overlooked in our concentration on his Presidency.[17] New Jersey observances also included Wilson exhibits at the State Museum and at the Rutgers University Library.

These brief notes on New Jersey's recognition of the centennial say nothing of the Wilson programs in the schools, or of such local observances as the memorial service at the Long Branch Historical Museum on December 29; but perhaps they are suffi-

[16]Douglass College, Rutgers University, Public Relations Office, press releases of Feb. 1, May 10, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1957.

[17]*Newark News,* Nov. 14, Nov. 15, 1957.

cient to convey the widespread interest which the centennial aroused, and the deepening appreciation of Wilson at the scenes of his early and oft-times bitter educational and political battles.[18]

VI

It is now forty-five years since the New Freedom campaign and over thirty-five since the defeat of the League; how does the Wilson record look in retrospect? One fact stands out with increasing clarity as the years go by: the pivotal nature of the Wilson administration in both the domestic and foreign fields. For it was under Wilson that the United States really turned the corner into the twentieth century. There had, to be sure, been a gradual weakening of laissez-faire attitudes in the late nineteenth century, beginning perhaps with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, and continuing with increasing speed under Theodore Roosevelt and the reform governors and mayors whom the Progressive Moment brought to the fore in the early twentieth. But it was the Wilson administration that saw the culmination of Progressivism, that forged many of the actual instruments—the Federal Reserve System, the progressive income tax, the farm credit system, to name a few—by which the government's responsibility for economic and social health could be effected.

It is remarkable that a Democrat of Southern origin, committed at least as late as 1912 to a limited-state doctrine, should be the one finally to unite Jeffersonian ends with Hamiltonian means for the welfare of all.

Likewise in foreign policy it was Wilson who placed America squarely in the center of the world stage. Here again, it was not a new development; from the 1890's on, with Theodore Roosevelt's rambunctious assistance, the United States has been emerging as a world power. But with Wilson the commitment became irrevocable; try as we would in the '20s and '30s to evade responsibility, we ultimately had to assume the role he cast for us.

[18]New Jersey participation in a centennial television program also deserves mention. The *New York Times* Youth Forum on Jan. 8, 1956, had as its adult guest Governor Meyner, and as one of its student guests, John Hoffman, Phillipsburgh High School senior. The topic, "Can We Make the World Safe for Mankind?", was chosen to commemorate the Wilson year. *Times*, Jan. 9, 1957, 15:1.

Again, it is remarkable that this took place under a President who was elected in 1912 on purely domestic issues, and who when war broke out in 1914 could see no way in which its origins or its outcome were any concern of ours.

In both areas, domestic and foreign, the office of President grew to new stature under Wilson. In the tradition of strong Presidents from Washington through Jackson and Lincoln to Theodore Roosevelt, he enlarged and perfected its powers; at his best, as in the magnificent achievements of his first term, he showed an unsurpassed brilliance of Presidential leadership. It may be unfair to Theodore Roosevelt to say that the twentieth-century presidency really began with Wilson; certainly the world leadership Wilson exercised in the last years of the war and in the making of the peace had no previous equal; it is like that of the second Roosevelt rather than the first.

And what of that "morality" of Wilson, which seems to be at once the delight and the despair of his biographers? It is now fashionable to criticize American diplomacy as hopelessly "legalistic" and "moralistic," to call for a return to "realism" in foreign affairs and for an appreciation of the necessity of "power politics" in the "national interest."[19] Such criticisms are not without merit. Diplomacy based on abstract morality, ignorant of the facts, and ignoring the realities of power, is dangerous, as Wilson's experience more than once demonstrated. But will a foreign policy bereft of moral principles be any safer a guide? In America's new role we shall need all the realism we can get; but to live up to our obligations as the richest nation in a world where most men want, we shall need moral vision as well. And in our lush economy, which threatens to make crass materialists of us all, we can ill afford to forget Wilson's example of "ascetic dedication" to causes greater than himself. "The commands of democracy," he once wrote, "are as imperative as its privileges and opportunities are wide and generous. . . . It will be great . . . only if we are great."[20] It was this greatness that Wilson strove for, both for himself and for his country.

[19]See, for example, George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy* (1951) and Hans J. Morgenthau, *In Defense of the National Interest* (1951).

[20]*The Politics of Woodrow Wilson*, p. 246.

Governor Gawen Lawrie's "Brief Account," 1686

JOHN E. POMFRET

This document deals with a period, 1683-1686, of which William A. Whitehead wrote, "little information can be obtained respecting the political history of East New Jersey." There was no meeting of the Assembly from Governor Lawrie's arrival in February 1684 until April 1686, close upon the time of his dismissal; the provincial council met fewer than ten times in more than two years and not at all from May 1685 to April 1686. Lawrie's "Brief Account," supplemented by entries in the Journal of Common Right and in the minutes of the Board of Proprietors, is the only complete story of his administration. His personal record fills a gap in our knowledge of the period and leads to the conclusion that "the troubles" that began in East Jersey in 1668 were not sporadic but continuous throughout the proprietary period.

Lawrie was the deputy governor of Robert Barclay, the distinguished Scotch-Quaker apologist, who never came to America. He succeeded Thomas Rudyard, another Quaker, who as a London solicitor had handled much of William Penn's legal business connected with West Jersey and Pennsylvania. Lawrie, a merchant of London, presumably of Scotch antecedents though from Hertford, had served with William Penn and Nicholas Lucas as a trustee of Edward Byllynge, the bankrupt chief proprietor of West New Jersey, and with them was instrumental in founding the Quaker settlement at Burlington in 1677. In 1682, when the proprietorship of East New Jersey was enlarged from twelve to twenty-four, he became a proprietor of that province. Following Rudyard's brief term as deputy governor, Lawrie was commissioned by the Proprietors in July 1683 as his successor.

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The "Brief Account" is included among the William Alexander Papers in the New-York Historical Society and is written on five double-size folio pages. It was obviously penned by a clerk but Lawrie, to strengthen his arguments, made two additions in his cramped handwriting above his characteristic signature. This is his only extant statement regarding his administration and one of the few bearing his name. In fact, aside from two promotion letters written in March 1685 that are found in George Scot's *Model of Government,* no others seem to exist.

Lawrie's memorandum, which reached the London Proprietors in June 1686, was written for the purpose of showing them that not only had he adhered with great care to their instructions in dealing with the East Jersey towns and with Captain John Berry who had impugned their authority, but that he had conducted these delicate negotiations successfully. Lawrie, in view of his conscientious efforts, was shocked by the Proprietors' official censure of July 1685. He attributed their action to certain Proprietors and to certain men in the province who bore him spite. Quite understandably he uses strong language when speaking of them. He greatly resented the accusation that he had helped himself to choice lands contrary to the Proprietors' instructions, claiming that he was innocent of any willful violation. Nevertheless he was penalized three thousand acres on his five-thousand-acre dividend as the owner of one half proprietary share for taking up a tract of one thousand acres on Chingerora Creek without the Proprietors' knowledge. He asserted that he was treated with great injustice, with not so much as a hearing, let alone a trial, where he might defend himself. Actually this lapse was the only malfeasance charged against him, though in May 1687, the Proprietors felt constrained to remove him from the office of receiver general under his successor, Lord Neil Campbell, judging it "unfitt to continue him in any publique employment."

Far more important than the matter of his censure is Lawrie's account of his efforts to follow his instructions in dealing with the six disaffected towns of Middletown, Shrewsbury, Elizabeth, Newark, Piscataway, and Woodbridge. These towns, claiming that they held their lands and certain privileges of government from Colonel Richard Nicolls, the Duke of York's governor at

New York, prior to the Duke's patent of 1665 to Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley, were loath to recognize the authority of the Proprietors. Moreover, in the case of Newark, the validity of the title rested upon an Indian purchase. The inhabitants had been evasive about paying their quitrents; in fact, they used every means to keep their names off the quitrent rolls. They obtained warrants of survey, had their lands surveyed and recorded, occupied them, but did not take out patents. The towns, too, as corporate entities, claimed huge tracts of ten thousand acres or more under these patents and they also had avoided taking out proprietary patents; nor had they laid out the seventh of these lands to which the Proprietors were entitled under the Concessions and Agreements of 1665.

Lawrie's task was to persuade the individuals and the towns to take out new patents, to renounce their Nicolls patents and Indian title, to make up their arrears of quitrents and to pay their current quitrents. He was expected to achieve what others had failed to accomplish in a score of years—to pacify the six towns. As instructed he dealt with them as leniently as he and the resident Board of Proprietors deemed they could, offering the original, or "old settlers" as they were called, a nominal rate of 6*d*. per 100 acres, and other inhabitants the minimal proprietary rate of ½*d*. per acre instead of the prevailing rate of 1*d*. or 2*d*.

The towns were brought into line one by one. Yielding to Lawrie's policy of "gentle suasion," they gave up their pretensions of government and renounced their pretended title claims. They began to pay their quitrents and arrears. Thus the governor's patience and never-ending persistence had won out. It had not been easy.

Lawrie blamed much of his trouble with the towns upon one individual, Captain John Berry of Bergen, who owned the large New Barbados tract that fell within the jurisdiction of Newark. In 1684 Berry was the most important "old settler" in the colony. He was a member of the Court of Common Right, and until falling out with Lawrie, a member of the council. He had been singularly loyal to the Proprietors since first appointed to the council by Governor Philip Carteret in 1669. When Governor Carteret left the province temporarily during the troubles of 1672, when Sir George's son, a usurper, was being abetted by

the towns, it was Captain Berry whom he appointed as his deputy. But in 1684 Berry defied the jurisdiction of the Court of Common Right, the chief provincial court, and refused to take out a patent for New Barbados or to pay his arrears of quitrent. Lawrie, supported by the newly appointed resident Board of Proprietors, finally brought Berry to terms. Here, indeed, took place a struggle for power in which, again, the prerogatives of the Proprietors were upheld. Little wonder, then, that Lawrie felt they had treated him shabbily.

In reading this account of East Jersey's troubles one is conscious of the fact that this is but another chapter in the long-drawn-out struggle between the Proprietors and the inhabitants. Actually nothing that the Carterets could do, the grant of liberal constitutions or the appointment of a conscientious though at times misguided governor, and nothing that the twenty-four Proprietors could do, the reasonable interpretation of the constitutions, the appointment of conciliatory deputy governors, or the observance of scrupulous legality, could dispel the deep-rooted feeling of resentment harbored by the inhabitants. In Middletown and Shrewsbury were Quakers who had fled England to escape arbitrary exactions; in Elizabethtown, Newark, and the smaller towns were Puritans from New England to whom town government was the essence of freedom. Not through choice but through happenstance had these communities been delivered, first, to two personal retainers of the Duke of York, and later, by a public auction, to the twelve Proprietors.

Thus the freedoms and liberties that the towns, rightly or wrongly, believed themselves entitled to were in a score of ways threatened. Endangered was the right to make "their own prudentiall laws," the right to elect their own officers, and the right to improve their lands to their best benefit. Instead, "alien" proprietors reserved the right to confirm or deny their laws, their deputy governor and his council could thwart the will of the elected deputies, and the very lands whose value the settlers had enhanced by their toil were subject to a quitrent—a burden arising from an accident of title. The principal lesson of Lawrie's "Account" lies in these intimate glimpses of a never-ending struggle between the New World and the Old.

A Brief Account of the Severall treaties between the Governour of East New Jersey and the Inhabitants thereof Concerning their quit rents and arriers and colonels Nicholas Pattent for Land*

First, 10th 5 mo 1684 Richard Hartshorn[1] and 5 more came from the two towns of Neversinks,[2] and after long debate they gave me these following proposals:

1st That all the inhabitants of Middletown and Shrewsburry shall have, hould, possess, & injoy forever as their own proper estate of inheritance all those lands that hath been surveyed unto them by Robert Vanquillan alias liperarey[3] with all the buttings and boundings allowances made and mentioned in the certificate of the survey already made, and no ways to be altered with all the priveledges and benefits; the half of gold and silver myns (onely) excepted, yeelding and paying one half bushell of winter wheat yeerly for every hundred acers[4] according to the survey already made the rent to begin on the 25th of march 1685,[5] and to be holden as of the manner of East green witch in free and common soccage,[6] and the rent to be paid in some one convenient place in Middletown and Shrewsburry.

2 And that it shall not be counted any trespass for our Cattle, horses, or others creatures to grase on all such lands as shall be unfenced in.

3 And to have the priveledges to chuse all our officers.

4 And that no ministreall power or clargey man shall be imposed on any of the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth so as to inforce any that are contrary minded to contribute to their maintenance.

5 And that the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth shall have liberty to make peculiar prudenciall laws amongst themselves.[7]

*This communication is addressed as follows: "G. L.'s Proceedings w'th ye several Towns about Quit rents & arrears in 84 & 85. not received until June 19, 1686 No 3. via Barbados."

[1]Of Middletown, a leading Quaker, member of the assembly of 1683, speaker of the assembly of 1686, defender of the privileges of Navesink settlers since 1668.

[2]Middletown and Shrewsbury.

[3]Vauquellin was Philip Carteret's surveyor-general.

[4]Roughly one half of the proprietary 1*d*. per acre. Wheat was worth about 4*s*. per bushel. The twenty-four Proprietors required 1*d*. per acre quitrent on most lands, but 2*d*. or more on townlands and choice agricultural lands.

[5]March 25 began the new year, and March was the first month (I mo.).

[6]A most favored tenure in that no arbitrary obligations of a feudal nature were exacted. Free and common socage prevailed upon such royal manors as East Greenwich in Kent.

[7]*New Jersey Archives (NJA)*, I, 43-46, 88-89. These rights and privileges are cited in the Nicolls Monmouth patent of 1665. Lawrie obviously was not familiar with the terms of this patent.

The premisses being performed,

1st We promise to pay the 3d part of the arriers of the rent Excepting all those that hath allready paid to the former receivers, but to be paid in two years next beginning on the 25th of March 1685 to be paid in money or winter wheat at 4s per Bushell.

2 And to resigne all our rights of lands contained in Coll. Richard Nichols Pattent excepting all those lands surveyed as afore mentioned and 4000 acers all ready purchased by the inhabitants of Middletown and Shrewsburry w'ch lyes unsurveyed by the said purchasers,[8] desiring that the aforesaid 4000 acers not to be granted to any but to those that purchased[9] the same they paying one bushell of wheat per hundred acers yerely having the same hould priveledges as afore mentioned.

But if no finall conclusion can be made betwixt the Governour and the inhabitants within six days after the date that then these proposals shall be no ways binding but if the Governour please to agree within the time aforesaid, and please to send word we will pay the messenger and forthwith attend him.

12th 5th mon 1684. I sent a messenger to them with my answer as followeth (vis).

Friends[10] because I would lett you see I intend an agreemt and because you bye me up to 6 days, I have sent a messenger, that you may send me the rest of the names of the persons you intend to be Included in the agreemt for so you promised me, and altho your proposals mentions all the inhabitants yet you said you did not intend any but the first setlers.

The second proposition is granted.

The third you shall have as much priveledge as any others in the Province.

The fourth, it is no reason you should have any minister imposed upon you,[11] when an assembly meets, I shall Joyn with you to gett an act past, that we may have liberty of conscience and to be secured from the Militie.

For the 5th for your making prudentiall laws, that can not be done but by an assembly, you will have the benefitt of all laws made in the province, for there cannot be laws made by [your] own town or country but by the deputys in the general assembly.

For the 6th you shall have my answer when you send the names. For the seaventh I am content with a bushell of wheat [per 100 acres] for the 4000 akers.

[8]But since not patented, this land yielded no quitrent.

[9]The original "associates," their heirs, and assigns were known as "old settlers" in all the towns.

[10]Lawrie until near his death in 1687 was a Quaker, as were Hartshorne, Hance, Wardell, and other Navesink delegates, hence this form of salutation.

[11]The Quakers were sensitive on this point not having a paid ministry.

As soon as I have the names sent me you shall forthwith have my full answer to anything els, and I would not have you press for that w'ch is not in my power to grant, as I told you when you was here, I had no power to alter the quitrent for the future, and this I told you before you gave me your proposals, it is in my hart to agree with you if possible and I hope you will not stand on trifels but if you agree not soon, I will not be ingaged to anything I here offered here after.

21st 5th month. They sent me this answer w'ch followeth, but it came not to my hand untill the 28th of 6 mo 1684 wherein they declined to treat more with me but to apply for England.

SHREWSBURRY YE 12TH DAY 6 MO 1684.

Governor Lawry we sent some lynes to thee, but we know not whether they are come to thy hand, w'ch lynes are as followeth:

Friend Governor Lawrie after our friendly salutation to thee, we have received thine bering date the 12th of 5th mo 84 in answer to our Proposals in part, but the main thing we came to thee about we find little or no answer to. As for sending the names of those that are behind of the first setlers, we count it needless except we had received some incouragement of obtaining yt Proposall for half a bushell wheat a hundred akers for the future w'ch thee said nothing of yt we can find in thy paper, furder we do perceive thee doth remember we promised to send no more names but who ware the first purchasers. Truly friend we never intended no other, we hope thee doth not mene we should leave out their heirs and assigns. Further we perceive thee art desirous we should end amongst ourselves and not break for trifels, truly it is our real desire to end with thee here, and for yt end we came to thee, and as for trifels we never intended yt should hinder us for agreing but the main thing about the quitrent or acknowledgment for the future, and in that thing thee hath answered nothing but hath left us were we were at the first. We should have been glad if it could have been other wise and should have redely sent those names who are rightly concerned and no other so we rest thy loving

sic Friends subscribitur
ELIAKIM WARDELL
JOHN HANCE[12]

This is a true copy of the originall

Friend Governour Laurie our love remembred to thee thought fitt to acquaint thee yt seeing we cannot agree not withstanding the painful

[12]Hance sat in the 1683 assembly and Wardell was a justice of the peace.

charge we have been at, it is our real intent to send our case before our friends and Proprietors in England—12 6 mo 84.

sic subscribitur

ELIAKIM WARDELL
JOHN HANCE

These 2 things we stuck at they would have the pattents voyd and take new ons at half a bushell of wheat 100 akers, and to abate two thirds of arriers paying onely one third in 2 years.

I waited about 6 months longer before I took any cours about quit rents.

1685 After w'ch I sent sommons to Richard Hartshorn and 8 more to appear at the court and shew cause why Judgment should not pass against them for not paying their quit rent according to their pattents, but none appeared except Richard Hartshorn, so Judgement was past by the court, and ordered yt execution should go forth except they gave in their plea to the office in 6 weeks, but they did not give in any plea, execution went out. The Shrief took onely one horss of John Smith, w'ch afterward he had again, then the said 8 persons came, and desired tyme to pay w'ch I granted them. Then the towns sent Jedediah allen,[13] and 3 more with propositions and said persons seemed inclinable to agree, and I told them I would condescend to any thing yt was in my power and reasonable, but now there was severall commissioners[14] Joynd with me in power as to these things and they might make application when they pleased, finding these Inclinable to settle, I forboar further proceedings for a considerable tyme, untill about 6 mo then they made application severaly for 100 akers land, and to pay all their arriers and renounce all claim to Colonell Nicholas pattent, and the pattenties to have the 500 akers George Cartwright[15] gave them free to all w'ch the Commissioners condescended they to pay Indian Purchase and take pattents at 6d. per annum each.

[13]A Quaker and a member of the 1683 assembly.

[14]*NJA*, I, 477. The East Jersey resident Board of Proprietors was set up by the English Proprietors late in 1684 to relieve the deputy governor and his council of caring for the distribution of proprietary lands. For membership on this board, ownership of at least ¼ of a proprietary share was required. The deputy governor presided and five votes were needed for the issue of warrants of survey.

[15]Sir George Carteret.

13 1om 1684 John Parker,[16] William Luker and 8 persons more came to treat with me in behalf of the Inhabitants of Elizabeth Town and proposed as followeth (vis):

first That all their pattents granted by Governour Carteret should be made voyd, & they would take a generall pattent for all their town bounds as it was latly marked out, and that they might have it for a small quit rent for a lamb a year or some such thing seeing they had a pattent from Coll: Nicols.

My Answer was, I could not take away any mans legall right that he held by Pattent, so that was not in my power, but this I was willing to offer, that the pattents should stand, and those that had no pattent should pattent their land and pay quitrents as others that had pattents, and if they would have more land, they should have 10 thousands akers at a small rent, or els to let the land Samuel Groom[17] surveyed be accepted, and they take the rest, to this last proposition severall agreed but the rest rejected, so after a whole days debate they went away & would not agree.

Before they went away I offered for Colonell Nichols pattent,[18] I would leave it to the King and councell, or to the Judges in Westminster Hall to determin, but this they also refused, but offered to leave it to some of long Island or New-England.[19] I answered that was unreasonable because they came from thence and these people was there relations and kindered, but I would leave it to people in Barbados[20] that were not related to them nor us, this they also refused.

1 mo 5 day 1685 The said persons came again and gave in a paper to the Governour and Commissioners, the substance was to make voyd all the pattents, and they would take a generall pattent for £20 per Annum.

Our Answer was that the pattents already taken came to neer £24 per Annum yt there was about 20 that had land not pattented, but we offered yt if they would bring in all the pattents with a release on the backside thereof, that we might be in a capacity

[16]Parker was a member of the 1683 assembly and Looker was an "old settler."
[17]Governor Rudyard's surveyor-general.
[18]Granted December, 1664.
[19]The first settlers came from western Long Island.
[20]The Morris-Sanford-Kingsland group from Barbados.

to treat with them, we would then treat with them for some accomodation, because we could not take away any mans legall right without their own consent, but this they would not agree to.

Now observe the ground of this last unreasonable proposition was (vis) Capt Berry.[21] Being somond before this to the court about his quit rent, he had influenced them to stand out, for making such unreasonable propositions, this was the last treaty with Elizabeth Town.

11 mo 19 day 1684 Four Persons came from New-wark to treat with me about their quit rents, and their town bounds as they cald it. I desired them to sett down there propositions in writing, w'ch they refused, but read a long paper about their Indian right,[22] and desired a generall pattent for all the land not pattented, at a small acknowledgment. My answer was, first to pay there arrears of quit rents of the land already pattented, and that all those who had not pattents should paten their land and pay quit rents as the rest, and for the remainder, after the Proprietors seavenths were sett out,[23] they should have a pattent and should have it easie for hardly a farthing per akre. So they went away and came again the 23 Instant, with the lyke proposals, or to same purpose.

I answered that they should first pay there arriers of quitrent, and then I would treat with them on easie terms, so after one days debate they went away and promised to come again but to this day they came not, the chief case was they were influenced by Capt Berry, and would see what came of his mat[ter].

12 mo: 7th 1684 John Gillman[24] and 3 persons more came to treat with me from Piscatan.[25] There propositions were (as followeth vis) that they might have a pattent for all the land in town bounds not already pattented at a small rent.

[21]The most influential "old settler."

[22]William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietors* (Newark, 1846), p. 49. Newark, settled by Connecticut men in 1666, argued the supremacy of her 1667 Indian title over that granted to the Proprietors.

[23]*NJA*, I, 42. Under the Concessions and Agreements of 1665 the Proprietors were entitled to one-seventh of all lands surveyed as townships.

[24]Member of the 1683 assembly.

[25]Piscataway was divided from Woodbridge by purchase in 1666. Both were originally included in the Nicolls patent for Elizabethtown.

My answer was that first they must pay their arriers, and those that had not taken pattents to paten there land and pay quit rents as others.

After about a days debate we came to this at last.

first The arriers to be paid, and yt these yt had no pattents to take pattents to make up with those yt had pattents 10 thousand akers this 10 thousands akers holden by the particular persons, at a half penny per acre, for I found that there was already pattented 6220 akers so there was 3780 akers to paten.

2ly That 2000 akers at least should be sett a syde for the Proprietors and to have 70 chains for a front upon Rariton the rest to go back towards the bound brook next major [James] Gyles land.

3dly For what land was already promised by me to any person should be made good.

4ly For the remainder within there present bounds to take a patent for it paying £15 per Annum.

To these Propositions we all agreed unto except the last. They offerd but £8 per annum, but said they would go home and acquaint the town, and if they agreed to the £15 per annum they would come again, but they never came to this day. Since w'ch the said men hath agreed for themselves and takes 100 akers of land as the people of Neversinks doeth, also some others, but they tell me there is a few factious men yt hath no patens keeps the rest from agreeing, and there is the lyke in Elizabeth town, but the chief occasion of there standing of was Capt Berry expecting what he would doe.

Wood-bridge[26] not paying their quit rents, I sent sommons to 3 or 4 of the chief in the town to appear at court about their quit rents upon w'ch two or three came to the court in behalf of the town, and there promised to pay their quit rents according to their pattents. But as yet they have payd none, so I must be forced to sommon them again to the court if they will not comply in a short tyme. Since w'ch 2 or 3 men from Wood-bridge came to me with their books to make their accounts, we went to work, and sat upon them a considerable tyme. I found they had payd formerly in Cartwrights [Carteret's] tyme there £5 per annum for their great comon as they call it and also charge

[26]Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49. Woodbridge was chartered in 1669, but both Woodbridge and Piscataway at times believed themselves entitled to the same claims as Elizabethtown under her Nicolls patent.

themselves with it now. I told them I would onely account with them at present for their particular pattents, to this they were very unwilling the acc't being long, and would take long tyme, I desired them to lett me heave their acc't and I would examin all by my acc't w'ch they granted, I told them yt there constable was to gather their quit rents, this they refused except I would pay them, so they went away after much talke about their common, when I have stated each mans acc't I must go to Woodbridge to settle with them, if I can.

[*In Lawrie's handwriting:*] If I had once got the quit rents of Woodbridge then I intend to treat with them about thiere common. [Philip] Cartwright granted them a paten for it at £5 per annum and it is supposed that they have about 16 thousand ackrs. He had a parsell of land they grant him which he sold for about £150 so abused the proprietor his mastery. I could have had many such giftes since I came here if I would have complyed with the people to your prejudice but hitherto I have not had 6d and I hope I shall not but I find it is all one I have no more thanks of you. Some could have maid themselves in my tyme considerable sums and you not the wyser how done. But I hope I shall keep my conscience clear and leave your dealing with me to the lord. So I remain your Friend to serve you

[*Signed*] GAWEN LAWRIE

An account of the Proceedings with Cap't Berry

6 mo: 1684 Capt: Berry being one of the councill, and one of the Judges of the court of common right, he with Samuell Dennis[27] another of the Judges, came to me, and desired to be satisfied, whether the act of Assembly yt made the act for yt court was confirmed. I told them it was, and shew them the Instrument, under the seale of the Province and the record, w'ch they were satisfied with as I thought, and they then sat in the court as they had done [there] before, without any question at all. I further told them, there fas an[other] made in November 1683, and shew it them, that reinforced the said act. A further addition, w'ch last act the year was not out untill Decemb

[27]Also a justice of the peace of Middlesex County.

next[28] with all w'ch they seemed well satisfied with, and went home, and keept their quarterly courts, both before & after (they being Judges there also).

But before Capt. Berry went home (I desired as I had severall tymes before) yt he might settle with me for the arriers of his quit rents we had severall debats about it. I pressed to have his positive answer whether he would pay or not, his answer was he would pay none. Then I told him I must take such cours for it, as the law directs, he said he would defend himself as well as he could, so parted.

October following I sent him a sommons to appear at the court to shew cause why Judgment should not pass against him for not paying his quitrent according to his pattent, intending thereby if he appeared and gave in his plea, it might come to a Jury to be tryed, but this it seems he never intended, as the sequell proved.

November: The court sate, and he was called, he came in, not in his usuall posture, but with his hatt on, and gave for answer, that he denyed the Jurisdiction of the court.[29] At this the court was much startled, and offended that he did this in the face of the country, that if this had been true no more courts would be kept and no assembly could be cald untill the spring.

The court debated with him that he had sate as Judge in yt court two severall tymes before, as also in the quarterly courts, but nothing would prevail he would neither own the court, not give in his plea, so he withdrew and the court proceeded to other business. Some of the Judges said, if he were suffered in such things, they would never sitt more, yet I keept off any proceedings against him untill next court, and gave him notice to be there, but he came not.

12 mo[30] The court satt again and proceeded to fyne him for

[28]*Journal of the Court of Common Right and Chancery of East Jersey, 1683-1702 (JCR)*, ed. Preston W. Edsall (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 22-23; *NJA*, I, 450-51. Lawrie, because the Proprietors in their instruction of January 1, 1684, had not specifically rejected the Court of Common Right Act of 1683, believed it valid for the usual period of one year. Berry, no fool, had reservations concerning the interpretation Lawrie placed upon the instruction.

[29]*JCR*, pp. 23-25. Berry's "great contempt" was a barefaced challenge of proprietary powers.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 188. The fine was levied on November 27, 1684, not in February, 1685, as Lawrie indicates.

his contempt. Some would have him fyned £20 but at last they all agreed to fyn him £10, and to be bound to the good behavior for a year. I said nothing, the court ordered it to be entered and execution to go forth within 10 days if he gave not in a plea, he came after the court was break up and had notice what passed, and was desired to give in his plea at the office but he did not, onely gave security to the Shrief for the good behavior. The execution was sent to the shrief for his fyn, but was not served, nor the fyn ever payd.

3 mo The court satt again he appeared and was pressed to give in his plea that his cause might be tryed by a Jury [then] he gave in a plea but such a premis[ory] one that the Jury could not pass upon it. The court demurred to his plea w'ch was to be argued the next court.

6 mo. The court sat again, the demurer was to be argued, Capt Berry alledged his Concill was not there and desired longer tyme, w'ch was granted him for 14 days so the court was adjorned.

6 mo 26th The court met again, Capt Berry proposed yt he was willing to come to an agreement with the Governour & Commissioners. The commissioners meet the 28th Cap: Berry came and gave in there reasons following (vis):

1st For yt I was in capitulation with the Lords Proprietors, and not resolved to hold it unless abatement were granted nor settled untill then.

2dly For yt the Indians would not sell above the half of the land in my pattent but kept it for their own use, and planted thereon.

3dly For yt above one half of the land (quantity and quality considered) hath been granted to others by Governour Carteret, & purchased by them from the Indians anno 1678, and have it in their possession and pay rent for it.

4thly It seems to me unreasonable to be compelled (when others are in possession) to pay rent for so considerable part of the said land.

They were read, and answer returned yt the Governour and Capt Berry should debate the matter and make report to the board yt day. Capt Berry and the Governour debated the propositions, and came to this at last, that upon consideration of his pretence of land taken from him and yt Sr George Carteret & his lady had granted abatement of £8 per Annum and to pay

£12 per annum from 1679 we stated the arriers onely from yt tyme w'ch came to £84 and his quit rent of £50 per Annum for 1500 akers where he dwels came to £32,-10 this being payd all other pretences was to be laid aside. This he submitted to the commissioners to abate what they pleased and to allow him tyme for payment.

The commissioners being willing to please him[31] abated him £34 of the £84: and £12:10s of the £32:10s, and ordered him 3 year to pay it in; one third every year w'ch he acknowledged as a great favor and was more as he expected, so he gave his bond for the same. Also they ordered me to take the surveyor and run his lyne in order for him to have a new pattent, w'ch accordingly I did within in a few weeks after. This is a short account of the proceedings with the Inhabitants of East Jersey all w'ch was done equally, [*water stain*] sett down the forty part of the debats I have had with the people, but onely the [sev]riall things worth the communicating to you, by w'ch I hope you will be satisfyed. I [have] done nothing but what is agreable both to reason & law for your service. And what ever reports may have come to the Proprietors ears of my proceedings, w'ch some it may be out of envy and others out of Ignorance have sugested, yet what I have here sent I can stand by, and am able to make these things appears by many persons, besides the records of the books here, both of the courts and commissioners. I desire these papers may be read by the Proprietors. And if Governour penn be in England that he may se them, for I am informed, he bears hard upon me both to you and else where at his pleasure, but I am not the onely Governour yt he hath struck at in America.[32] I am sure I never gave him any Just occasion for it. However the righteous God will Judge for these things. I have not sought my self since I came here, nor taken anything from

[31]*Minutes of the Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1685 to 1705*, ed. George J. Miller (Perth Amboy, 1949), p. 90, "In consideration of his great public services in this province."

[32]Lawrie had angered Penn by supporting Edward Byllynge, chief proprietor and governor of West New Jersey, against the usurpations of Samuel Jennings, the resident deputy governor. Both Rudyard and Lawrie were disturbed upon learning that Penn showed an interest in buying up Nicolls patents from the discredited Captain John Baker. Incidently, Captain John Berry was Penn's agent in East Jersey where Penn was one of the twenty-four Proprietors. *NJA*, I, 437-38.

any man unrighteously, nor never had 10s since I came in the province from any man or men, but spent my own estate and body to do your services, a great deal more as you allowed me, and yet I perceive you are not satisfied, w'ch is no small trouble to me, but I must beat it. Whom have I wronged, whom have I defrauded, that I must be reckoned a knave, a tyrant, and such, and threatned to be laid open before the king, and all this without being heard to answer for my self. To clear me from these foul mouthed wicked slanders, that proceeds from murderous spirits in the dark behind my back, who dare not appear to justify them before my face.

[*Signed*] Gawen Lawrie

[*In Lawrie's handwriting:*] If I had wronged the proprietors by taking up ye 1000: akres at Chingoros, which I was not then prohibited from; but apprehended I might do it, yet I resist not a legall tryall, but to have my Freehould of 3000 akers taken from me, arbitrary, without a due course of law, its very hard, I say no more.[33]

[33]*NJA,* XIII (Journal of the Governor and Council, 1682-1714), 284, 286-87. George Willocks of East Jersey, in 1701, in his attack upon William Dockwra, the non-resident agent of the English Proprietors, listed among his charges the arbitrary action of Dockwra's depriving Lawrie of three thousand acres, "without any tryall of Partyes or Legall Conviction of any Crime Committed."

The Great Epidemic of Coining in the Jersies

KENNETH SCOTT

This is the second of three articles by Dr. Scott on counterfeiting in Colonial New Jersey. The third will appear in the next issue. Dr. Scott is a member of the English Department of Wagner College.

In 1747 it became increasingly evident that counterfeiting of both bills and coin was being carried on in New Jersey on a scale never before known in that province. In April it was discovered that two men who went by the names of Maynert Johnson and William Casway from New Jersey had been traveling in Pennsylvania and passing off bogus New Jersey twelve-shilling bills of the emission of March 25, 1733. These notes were so poorly printed and signed that only a person unfamiliar with Jersey currency could be deceived by them. The lines were crooked, the letters and figures misshapen and disproportioned, the flourishes and arms dull and blindly impressed and several of the words scarcely legible.[1]

By August, two types of counterfeit Spanish dollars appeared in circulation, one variety made of pewter, coated with silver, and the other so cunningly made that it could be detected solely through the fact that it could not withstand testing by fire.[2]

Several persons suspected of coining were arrested and committed to jail in Philadelphia,[3] two of whom, John Thomas Jones and Stephen Barnes, were convicted and sentenced to stand in the pillory in Philadelphia, to be imprisoned six months and to pay a fine of £50 each. Prison fare and prison conditions soon moved the two men to petition the Provincial Council to remit their sentences and permit them to serve in the army.

They promised in return to make full confessions. Their examinations, taken before Chief Justice John Kinsey of Pennsyl-

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 16, 1747; *Pensylvanische Berichte*, May 16, 1747.
[2] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nos. 973 and 975; *Pensylvanische Berichte*, Sept. 16, 1747.
[3] *Supplement to the Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 973.

vania on October 7, 1747, pointed to New Jersey as the source of coining. Barnes, a blacksmith from Greenwich in Morris County, New Jersey, related how Thomas Dote had informed him that he, Dote, Folker Folkerson and Anthony Hutchins were to have a pair of dies for coining pieces of eight made for them by a certain Bruff in Elizabethtown, and that Folkerson had paid £120 for the dies. Barnes had, he said, seen a similar set in the possession of Peter Ulrich of Philadelphia, presumably brought to him by John Jones, who secured them from Folkerson. This same John Jones informed Barnes of a further set of dies in the custody of a younger brother of Folker Folkerson and that John McNeal and Hans Davacutt were partners with him in a design to coin Spanish money. Dote, Barnes added, had offered to employ him and others in making pieces of eight.[4]

The other prisoner, Jones, a smelter, late of Bristol, England, told of a meeting at the house of Folker Folkerson, at which Thomas Dote told of having commissioned Bruff to make dies for stamping dollars. A little later Folkerson showed Jones the dies and stated that he and his younger brother were to give a bond for £100 to a merchant in Brunswick in order to be able to pay for them. The persons involved in the scheme, besides the two Folkersons, were apparently Thomas Dote, Anthony Hutchins, John McNeal, Hans Davacutt and one Campbell.[5]

As a reward for their evidence and for information leading to the discovery of some dies which Jones had thrown into the river, the pillorying of Barnes and Jones was remitted, and in June, 1748, it was ordered that they be released from jail on condition that they enlist in the armed forces.[6]

A New Englander, who called himself Jeremiah Carpenter but whose real name was supposed to be Amos Fuller, was taken up for passing counterfeit Jersey bills and was committed to the jail in Burlington, probably in August or September, 1747. In any event he broke out and escaped on September 19,

[4]The examination of Stephen Barnes taken October 7, 1747 (MS. in possession of the late Mr. J. N. Spiro of Maplewood, N.J.).

[5]The examination of John Jones taken October 7, 1747 (MS. in possession of J. N. Spiro).

[6]*Colonial Records of Pennsylvania,* V, 134, 140, 268.

and a reward of ten pounds was offered for his recapture by Sheriff Joseph Hollinshead, who described the fugitive as of about six feet in height and of a pale complexion; he was wearing a gray homespun jocky coat with brass buttons, old leather breeches, yarn stocking, a linen cap and an old hat.[7]

Amos Fuller, for such was the scoundrel's real identity, hailed from Lebanon, Connecticut, where in 1749 it was discovered that he was one of a gang of counterfeiters busily engaged in passing false paper money made by Isaac Jones and Joseph Bill. In March, Amos Fuller was indicted at the Superior Court held in Windham, was tried, convicted and sentenced in accordance with the harsh Connecticut law of 1724. In October, however, he was released from prison but confined for life to the limits of the town of Lebanon.[8]

Fuller, alias Carpenter, was already working in New Jersey for Joseph Bill in passing Bill's counterfeits. There were two varieties of false fifteen-shilling Jersey bills of the emission dated July 2, 1746. One type was done on paper which was thinner, smoother, and, when looked through in the light, clearer than the genuine; the counterfeits were done on copperplate but the true from common printing types; the three crowns were rounder than in the real bills and differed from those in the genuine, as was also the case with the flowers; further, the letters of the word *Shillings* were too large in the counterfeits. The other type of counterfeit was done on thicker paper and was a better imitation.[9]

False twelve-shilling bills of the emission of March 25, 1733, were circulating, in part sullied and patched, with the two moons smaller than in the good money. Counterfeits of the six-shilling denomination of the emission of July 2, 1746, were done from copperplate rather than printing types; the *S* in *Silver* was larger than the rest of the letters, while the *s* in *Grams* was badly made; in the border of flowers around the sage leaf on the back of the false notes the flourishing was more open, loose

[7]*New-York Gazette: Revived in the Weekly Post Boy,* Oct. 12, 1747.

[8]Records, Court of Assistants and Superior Courts, 1710-1749, pp. 327-29 (MS. in Connecticut State Library); Crimes and Misdemeanors, IV, 123-24, and V, 173 (MS. in Connecticut State Library); *Colonial Records of Connecticut,* IX, 489-90.

[9]*Pennsylvania Gazette,* Oct. 22 and Oct. 29, 1747.

and irregular than in the true; the strokes representing the fibres of the leaf did not seem as naturally rough as in the genuine; the *S* in *Six* was smaller than the *IX,* and the letters in *Shillings* at the top of the counterfeits were very crooked.[10]

Joseph Bill was on the scene, pretending to be a Dr. Joseph Bradford of New London, and a confederate who called himself John Lummis, supposedly a blacksmith of Narraganset, were arrested in Hackensack early in December for passing false Jersey currency. On these men were found 102 notes of fifteen shillings each, of which thirty-six were signed, 104 of twelve shillings each, of which eight were signed, and 89 of six shillings each, of which twenty-seven were signed. Some of the six-shilling denomination were dated 1743 and others 1746.[11] Soon Joseph Bill escaped from the jail of Bergen County,[12] and very likely his accomplice did the same.

The activities of Johnson and Casway, possibly aliases of Bill and one of his associates, the arrest of Bill, Amos Fuller and "John Lummis," the flood of false paper notes were sufficient to alarm the New Jersey authorities. In addition the confessions of Barnes and Jones in Philadelphia must have been made known to the officials in Jersey. These circumstances and a communication from Rhode Island on November 19, 1747, moved Governor Jonathan Belcher to address the Counsel and Assembly of New Jersey in these words:

> I am, *gentlemen,* in the next place to acquaint you, that I have lately received from one Mr. *Hopkins,* a Magistrate in *Rhode-Island* Government, a Number of counterfeited Bills of this Province, which Mr. Secretary shall deliver to you. We are obliged to this Gentleman for his good Care; and from this, and other Informations of the like Kind, I have reason to believe there is a Knot, or Combination of villainous Persons, that are making a Trade of forging the Bills of this Province; And this Matter well deserves your speedy Care and strict Enquiry, as it strikes at the very Vitals of your Currency, and so must nearly affect not only your Commerce, but your other Estates also.[13]

Belcher's address stirred the Assembly to action, and by January 7, 1748, the House, which had read the papers concerned

[10] *Pensylvanische Berichte,* Nov. 16, 1747; *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Nov. 19, 1747.
[11] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* Dec. 15, 1747.
[12] *New-York Evening Post,* Aug. 5, 1751.
[13] *The New-York Gazette, Revived in the Weekly Post-Boy,* Dec. 6, 1747.

with the discovery of counterfeiters and coiners, through its speaker urged the governor to instruct the attorney-general to be vigilant in arresting suspected counterfeiters and to put the laws into strict and vigorous execution against all found guilty.[14] On February 9, 1747, Mr. Nevill and Mr. Stelle from the House brought in a bill entitled an "Act for Punishing the Coiners and Counterfeiters of foreign Coin," and two days later Governor Belcher stated in writing that the passage of the same would be well pleasing to him, including a clause providing for the pardon of coiners who should voluntarily surrender and confess all they knew, if nothing in the law might be construed to pardon any species of high treason.[15] The act was duly passed and signed,[16] but on November 23, 1749, it was disallowed by the King in Council.[17]

By July, 1748, a printer named Heinrich Jaeger had been taken up for counterfeiting New Jersey bills. He admitted that he had made £40 of such money but had passed only a fifteen-shilling bill. For his crime he was tried and convicted at a court of oyer and terminer held at Trenton and on Saturday, July 16, 1748, was hanged in that town, leaving behind a wife and nine children. At the gallows his wife was fined £50. One of the gang, who had been accepted as a witness against Jaeger, as soon as the trial was over bought a horse with counterfeit money but was soon overtaken and imprisoned. Several other persons, it was reported, were jailed on suspicion of counterfeiting.[18]

The hanging of Jaeger and the reported determination of the government to exert itself in detecting and punishing counterfeiting produced results, thanks above all to the act passed in March which extended pardon to those who gave themselves up and confessed all. The apprehension in July of various suspects and their confinement in Newark must have exerted further pressure on the criminals.[19]

[14]*New Jersey Archives*, III, 578.
[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 627, 632.
[16]*Ibid.*, p. 642.
[17]Samuel Allinson, *Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New-Jersey* (Burlington, 1776), p. 171.
[18]*Pensylvanische Berichte*, Aug. 16, 1748; *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser*, July 28, 1748.
[19]*New-York Gazette, Revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, July 25, 1748.

Probably Houghton Mershon, a yeoman of Maidenhead in Hunterdon County, was one of the first to take advantage of the Act of March, 1748. In any event, before June 6, 1748, Mershon voluntarily confessed that he had been concerned with Abraham Anderson, Job Rossell, and Robert Wild, all of Maidenhead, in counterfeiting Spanish cobs and that Wild had provided and compounded copper and other base metals and ingredients for blanching copper and had aided the other three in coining. Mershon was apparently examined by Justice John Allen in Burlington and on June 6 jailed by High Sheriff David Martin in Trenton. All four coiners were indicted and of them Rossell and Mershon pleaded guilty; a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Anderson but he could not be found; no action with regard to Wild is recorded.[20]

In Middlesex County, Joseph Linn, late of New Brunswick, yeoman was arrested for passing a counterfeit New Jersey bill to Jacob Weyser of the same town. It would seem that in March, 1748, he made a confession and on the evidence thereof and on the testimony of a Mr. Schuyler he was indicted, and the presentment was returned *billa vera.* The prisoner, who pleaded not guilty, was released on bail of £300, with three sureties, Alexander Linn, John Hoey, and Bryant Lefferty, all of Basking Ridge in Somerset County, each in £100. On August 9, 1748, at the Supreme Court in Perth Amboy he was called three times and made default but presently appeared and surrendered. By consent of the Attorney General he was continued under bail *de die in diem* until August 16, when he was bound over to the next Supreme Court or court of oyer and terminer to be held in Middlesex County, whichever should be held first.

At the April term of the Supreme Court in 1749 he retracted his plea of not guilty, threw himself upon the mercy of the court and produced two witnesses, who testified to his efforts to apprehend the person who, he alleged, led him into committing his crime, and to Linn's general good character except for the present affair. Despite the request of the attorney-general for judgment, the court continued on the case to August, while the defendant was released on bail of £200, with Alexander Linn

[20]N.J. Supreme Court Records, 20341 and 21079.

and Matthew Sharpe as sureties in £100 each. The case was further continued until March, 1750, when the court finally sentenced Linn to pay a fine of £10 and give security for his good behavior for three years. The judgment was so extremely mild because Linn had confessed his crime and had sought to apprehend the person who instigated him to wrongdoing.[21]

Early in August, 1748, there was a veritable rush of counterfeiters in Essex County desirous to secure pardon through the terms of the Act of March, 1748. On August 6 Zorobabel North, Daniel Perrine, Joseph Marsh, Richard French, John French and John Roll, all of whom had come voluntarily to John Stiles, a justice of the peace, and confessed to their guilt in counterfeiting coin, were committed by the magistrate to William Chetwood, high sheriff of Essex County, who was ordered to bring these prisoners before the Supreme Court to be held at Perth Amboy on August 12, 1748.[22]

Two other justices of the same county, Samuel Woodruff and John Ross, on August 6 sent to Sheriff Chetwood the following prisoners who had surrendered and confessed to their guilt in coining: James Bruff, Andrew Miller, Aaron Miller, Josiah Winans, John Radley, John Joline, Daniel Clarke, Jr. All of these were ordered brought before the Supreme Court in Perth Amboy on August 12.[23] At the August, 1748 term of the Supreme Court, all the coiners were bound over to the next court of oyer and terminer to be held in Essex County, James Bruff and Aaron Miller in £300 each, John Radley in £200, Daniel Perrine, John Roll, John French and Richard French in £50 each, all, of course with sureties.[24]

The examinations of prisoners who had surrendered or been taken up were conducted by various justices, some of whom were A. J. Johnston, Samuel Nevill, and Gershom Mott. The questioning conducted between June 16 and August 28 elicited

[21]The evidence on Linn's case is as follows: Burlington Supreme Court Docket IV, p. 113; minutes of the Supreme Court, vol. 51, pp. 11, 12, 37, 41; Supreme Court Docket V, pp. 6, 10, 43, 46, 52; Supreme Court Docket from 1745 to 1748, pp. 125, 134; N.J. Supreme Court Records, 20985.

[22]N.J. Supreme Court Records, 21063.

[23]N.J. Supreme Court Records, 20461, 20138, 21046, 21510, 21206, 20531.

[24]Minutes of the Supreme Court, LI, 15, 16.

about eighty names of persons directly accused or implicated by hearsay.[25]

The confessions of the coiners who had voluntarily surrendered, as well as the depositions of Barnes and Jones in Philadelphia in 1747, must have provided the New Jersey authorities with the names of numerous suspects. On August 17, 1748, Robert Hunter Morris, chief justice of New Jersey, issued a warrant to the high sheriff of Somerset County to arrest John McNeal, Jacobus Vanetta, Robert Levingston, David Brant, Court Timery, Isaac Woortman, Ebenezer Doud, Abraham Anderson, Peter Salter, Joshua Robbins, and Abraham Southerd. The sheriff was instructed to search their homes and all likely hiding places and seize counterfeiting tools and bogus money.[26]

Many of those mentioned in the warrant were, it seems, not to be found, for three days later Chief Justice Morris issued to John Kinney, sheriff of Morris County, a warrant to make similar search and seizure and to arrest John McNeal, Jacobus Vanetta, Robert Levingston, Court Timery, Isaac Woortman, Abraham Anderson, and Joshua Robbins—all named in the previous warrant to the sheriff of Somerset County—as well as Job Allen, John Pipes, Andrew Morrison, Seth Hall, and Abraham Hathaway.[27]

[25]The various individuals mentioned, as contained in the lists of Chief Justice Robert Hunter Morris, are the following: Zorobabel North, Daniel Perine, Joseph March, Richard French, John French, Johannes Mongrell alias John Roll, Joshua Robbins, Aaron Miller, Ebenezer Doud, Abraham Anderson, Peter Salter, John McNeal, John McDaniel, Andres Wortman, Jasper Totten, John Radley, Daniel Clark, Jr., Andrew Miller, Josiah Winans, James Bruff, Thomas Norris, Samuel Jacquess, James Marshall, David Brant, Abraham Southerd, Robert Levingston, John Scot, George Armstrong, Morris Williams, Sylvanus Totten, Samuel Blackford, Jethro Manning (probably the person called on some lists Jeffry Mannen), Johathan Duglass, Lemuel Washburn, Thomas Dickinson, John Davis, Timothy Conner, John Joline, Abraham Hathaway, Caleb Southerd (a son of Abraham Southerd), John Roll's wife, Job Babcock, John Blackford, Nathaniel Tuttle, Josiah Brodwell, Seth Hall, Aaron Rice, Thomas Levington, Andres Wortman, Jr., Isaac Wartman, Jonathan Campbell, Solomon Thorp, Thomas Doughty, Jacob Folkerson, Anthony Hutchins, William Smith, George Field (a tinker), Edmund Crewe, Cowt Timery, John Evertson, Bout Wortman, Lodowick Wortman, Benjamin Crowell, William Wortman (a son of Bout Wortman), David Carlisle, John Wortman, James O'Brian, Henry Buzzard, Stephen Barnes, David Wilson, Jacobus Vanetta, John Pipes, Andrew Morrison, Jonathan Hathaway, one Jubert, a certain Holmes, a blacksmith named Nutman and a doctor, not otherwise identified.

[26]Warrant dated August 17, 1748, in the collection of Mr. J. N. Spiro.

[27]Warrant dated August 20, 1748, in the collections of J. N. Spiro.

Ten suspected counterfeiters, Timothy Conner, Seth Hall, Jonathan Hathaway, John Pipes, Job Allen, Andrew Morrison, Abraham Southerd, Samuel Blackford, Sylvanus Totten, and David Brant, all of Morristown, were arrested on warrants issued by Chief Justic Morris and committed to the jail in Morristown in the custody of Caleb Fairchild, the high sheriff. On September 25, persuaded by John Kinney, who presently was to become high sheriff of Morris County, the prisoners broke jail and escaped.[28]

The situation was most unfavorable for the prosecution of counterfeiters, due to the attempts of the proprietors to collect quitrents. Numerous persons, on the basis of Indian titles, were coolly stealing timber, while angry mobs were breaking open the jails and rescuing persons who, like Amos Roberts, were arrested for treason because they led rioters.[29] The coiners, naturally, profited by the mob spirit and widespread resentment of government.

The Council, attended by Governor Belcher, John Rodman, Richard Smith and Robert Hunter Morris, met at Burlington on October 21, 1748. Chief Justic Morris informed the council that he had committed eleven suspected counterfeiters to the jail of Morris County and one each to the jails of Somerset, Middlesex, and Essex counties while there were committed to the different jails other individuals whom he had not examined. Further, he had been informed by letters, that ten of the eleven prisoners committed to the jail of Morris County had escaped through the great remissness of the sheriff and magistrates and, continuing in the county at and about their own homes, were not apprehended. Some of the justices and freeholders of Morris County had petitioned for a special trial of the money-makers.[30]

No action was taken by the Council at the time, but on November 23 Governor Belcher laid before that board the information of the Chief Justice and a committee was appointed to consider the question of the counterfeiters.[31]

[28]N.J. Supreme Court Records, 20914, 20492.

[29]On the lawless situation in the Jersies in 1748 see Donald L. Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom* (Princeton, 1940), pp. 209, 216-17.

[30]*New Jersey Archives*, XVI, 82.

[31]*Ibid.*, p. 83.

Mr. Morris explained in his information that John Lindsley, Jr., and John Kenney, who were taking the eleven suspected counterfeiters to the jail of Morris County, allowed one of their prisoners to escape and that the fugitive was received and protected by Thomas Darling and Seth Crowell. The other ten prisoners, being delivered into the custody of Caleb Fairchild, were suffered by him to escape from prison. Chief Justice Morris now prayed the board for an order for him to prosecute Lindsley, Kenney, Fairchild, Darling, and Crowell in the Supreme Court, as he found it "impracticable to Cause any Delinquents for Crimes Committed in the said County of Morris to be apprehended and prosecuted to Effect in the Courts there by the ordinary proceedings of the Law." Morris's request was referred to the committee appointed to consider the coiners.[32]

To this same committee of the Council was referred on December 7, 1748, the petition of James Marshall, jailed in Middlesex County for coining and passing, who requested a special commission to try him.[33] Another suspected coiner, James Bruff, who was in jail in Elizabeth in Essex County, had earlier requested a special commission for his trial. His prayer, which was laid before the House by the governor on November 30, had been referred to a committee of that body.[34] The House, indeed, on November 16, had expressed a hope that the discovery of so many wicked counterfeiters would soon put an end to the vile practise and that the punishment of the guilty would prevent the like for the future. As for the further discovery and detection of the combination of villainous persons, the House doubted not of the assistance of every honest and good member of the community.[35]

The governor and Council probably did not place too great faith in the sincerity of the House but they could only act in the hope that the representatives would be co-operative. Chief Justice Morris and the other members of the committee to which the Council referred the affidavits and papers relating to the money-makers reported on December 8 that in their opinion it was al-

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

most impossible to convict any counterfeiters in Morris County, where apparently many persons were concerned. Further, as Essex and some other counties were in a state of rebellion, it would be dangerous to hold courts of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery in them, for to do so would subject the judges and officers to the insults of a rebellious mob. To cope with this situation it was proposed that a bill be prepared to enable the governor or commander-in-chief, for one year and until the end of the next sessions of the General Assembly, to grant commissions for trying counterfeiters in such counties and by juries of such counties as he or they, with the advice of the Council, might think fit. Mr. Morris added that a committee of the Council be appointed to confer with a committee of the House with respect to voting money for arresting, transporting, and trying suspected counterfeiters.

The Council accepted the proposal, appointed Robert Hunter Morris and James Hude as a committee to prepare a bill for granting commissions to try the counterfeiters and ordered Mr. Morris to request the House to appoint a committee to confer on the subject with a committee of the Council, consisting of the speaker of the Council, Mr. Morris, Mr. Antill, and Mr. Kemble These gentlemen were instructed to acquaint the House with the proposed bill which the Council wished to pass, to urge the House to vote money for apprehending the counterfeiters and bringing them to justice and to communicate to the Assembly's committee the affidavits, examination and papers relating to the matter.[36]

The special committee of the Council on December 9 brought in an act for the more speedy trial of those guilty of the late treasons and riots and of counterfeiting and coining, a step scarcely calculated to win the approval of the House. Then the Council informed Governor Belcher of the progress made and observed that various magistrates and officers of Morris County had been and still were remiss in their duties, all of which contributed much to the growth of the villainy, which, the Cuncil believed, had "not yet been searched to the bottom."[37]

The House on the same day, December 9, notified the gover-

[36]*Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.
[37]*Ibid.*, pp. 36-38.

nor that no new legislation seemed needed, for if the existing laws were duly executed, as recently at Trenton, they would suffice to bring the guilty to punishment. As the House had heard of no obstruction being put in the way of the officers in the discharge of their duties, it must be presumed that the defect must be in the officers' conduct.[38]

To this cavalier message Governor Belcher promptly replied that he considered it the duty of the House to vote money for men to guard the jails and protect the civil officers and likewise to join with Council in passing legislation to bring the counterfeiters to justice.[39]

The royal governor was as pleased with his Council as he was vexed by the attitude of the House. On December 10 he expressed his satisfaction with the concern and zeal of the Council for suppressing the "Outrageous Offenders" who were "so openly trampling under their feet the King's name, Authority and Laws." If the House did not join in putting an end to such "fatal Proceedings," Belcher threatened to represent to his majesty the wretched state to which his government and loyal subjects were reduced in New Jersey "by Lawless Seditious Crew," who seemed to be "just upon the brink of open rebellion."[40]

The committee of the Council, in the meantime, studied the situation and on December 12 reported that in Morris County so many persons had been involved in counterfeiting and were still undiscovered, that many jurors might well be coiners or relations of such, so that it would tend to defeat justice to try any counterfeiters in that county. Hence the committee proposed that the governor should be impowered to issue commissions to try such criminals from Morris County in other counties or to refuse such commissions for their trial in that county. In addition, in the present state of rioting and breaking jails in Essex, Hunterdon, and Somerset counties, the committee advised against holding courts in these counties until a sufficient force could be raised to guard the jails, the judges, and the officers.[41]

The House, however, took no action at all, as a committee of

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

the Council discovered when it inspected the journals of the House, and the refusal of the House of Assembly to hold conferences with the Council was condemned in a resolution of the council as "a Breach of that Harmony which ought always to subsist between the branches of the Legislative."[42] On March 7, 1749, the House informed Governor Belcher that the present circumstances of the colony would not admit the raising of money to guard jails but that the House would not be understood to discourage officers from putting into execution laws which were already in being.[43]

By 1751 the lawlessness was much abated and some of the ringleaders among the rioters fled New Jersey for fear of the King's wrath.[44] Much earlier, however, action was taken against a number of counterfeiters in Middlesex and Burlington counties, where the authority of the government was not openly flouted as in Morris, Essex, Hunterdon, and Somerset.

In Middlesex County on August 17, 1748, Samuel Jacquess surrendered to Samuel Nevill, J.P., admitted that he had made molds for coining pieces of eight, informed against his accomplice, Johathan Campbell, and delivered up everything illegal in his possession. Andrew Brown, presumably at about the same time, presented himself to James Hude, a member of the Council, confessed that he had assisted in making pieces of eight and had concealed the same and denounced his accomplice, apparently Johathan Campbell. At the April, 1749, term of the Supreme Court the three men were indicted and Brown and Jacquess were discharged under the terms of the act of 1748, while Campbell, after his case was continued for several terms, was, with the consent of the attorney-general, also discharged in March 1750.[45]

In November, 1749, Zebulon Cooke of Chester in Burlington County, yeoman, was indicted for having on October 17, 1749, passed a false New Jersey bill to Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Moore, of Chester. Mrs. Moore, Hugh Hollingshead, and Samuel Wickward were witnesses, and the grand jury returned the

[42]*Ibid.*, pp. 59, 62, 65.

[43]*Ibid.*, p. 124.

[44]Kemmerer, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[45]N.J. Supreme Court Docket V, pp. 6-9, 25, 43, 47; minutes of the Supreme Court, LI, 36, 37, 39.

presentment *billa vera*. As there is no further record of the case, it was presumably tried by a special court of oyer and terminer.[46]

At the March, 1750, term of the Supreme Court, on the motion of the attorney-general, process was ordered in the case of Andrew Chichester, indicted for passing a counterfeit bill.[47]

Many counterfeiters in Morris County who had escaped prosecution in 1748 were taken up in 1750, and the sheriff's calendar of prisoners, dated July 2, 1750, at a special court of oyer and terminer for that county were Samuel Blackford, Abraham Hathaway, Job Allen, John Pipes, David Brant, Seth Hall, Sylvanus Totten, Andrew Morrison and, committed since the sitting of the court, Josiah Pricket, James Vanetta and Jeremiah Wright.[48]

At this same Court a number of persons were indicted: Peter Salter, Ebenezer Doud, and Timothy Conner, for coining pieces of eight, while Conner was also presented for obtaining from Andreas Wortman a quantity of counterfeit unsigned New Jersey bills and David Brant for helping Conner and John McDaniel to make bills and pass them. Brant pleaded guilty and was apparently released when, with two sureties he furnished bail in £200 for his good behavior for seven years. Salter, who pleaded guilty, had forgotten, after a confession, to give an account of some of his false pieces of eight but later sent them to a magistrate. He seemingly got off with only a fine. The indictments of Doud and Conner were returned *billa vera* but their punishment, if any, is not recorded.[49]

The justices, Samuel Nevill, Timothy Tuttle, Ebenezer Byram, Daniel Cooper, and John Anderson, at this court held in July, 1750, had before them on a charge of breaking jail the ten men who had escaped in September, 1750, namely Conner, Hall, Jonathan Hathaway, Pipes Allen, Morrison, Southerd, Blackford, Totten, and Brant, all of whom were indicted on this charge.[50] Likewise John Kinney, now high sheriff of Morris County, was indicted at this session for having persuaded Seth

[46]Supreme Court Docket V, p. 36; Supreme Court Records, 20569.
[47]Supreme Court Docket V, p. 46.
[48]Supreme Court Records, 21363.
[49]Supreme Court Records, 20482, 26619, 21363, 20492.
[50]Supreme Court Records, 20492.

Hall and Andrew Morrison to escape from jail, and the grand jury returned his indictment *billa vera.*[51]

The final disposition of the cases is not known, for the men were probably tried at a court of oyer and terminer. In any event, nine of the Morris County counterfeiters, Abraham Hathaway, Jr., Jonathan Hathaway, Job Allen, Andrew Morrison, John Pipes, Timothy Conner, Sylvanus Totten, Seth Hall, and Samuel Blackford were presented by a grand jury at a court of oyer and terminer held at Morristown in September, 1752, for coining, and one of the men, Seth Hall, apparently was accepted as King's evidence against Abraham Hathaway.[52]

Just a year later Samuel Blackford was again indicted, this time for counterfeiting six Spanish pieces of eight, and Sylvanus Totten was used as a witness against him.[53] Still another of the gang, Abraham Southerd was also presented for marking six pieces of eight.[54]

In general the punishment of the counterfeiters discovered in 1748 and the next few years is not known, as they were in general tried by commissions of oyer and terminer, whose records are not preserved. On the other hand one of two coiners of Burlington County, Samuel Denyke of Little Egg Harbor, was tried at the May, 1752, term of the Supreme Court. Denyke and Joseph Palmer, commonly known as "Indian Jo," both described as as laborers, made a certain instrument and mold composed of cedar wood and beaten earth and chalk, with which they cast pieces of eight. Jacob and Abel Gale testified against them and both the coiners were indicted in 1751. "Indian Jo" apparently was not taken but his associate, Denyke, was tried and convicted. The foreman of the jury prayed the court to be merciful out of consideration for the youth of Denyke and his good character from infancy to the time when he made the acquaintance of Indian Jo Palmer and was seduced and corrupted by him. The court then sentenced the young man to stand one hour in the pillory of Burlington, between 11 and 4 on the coming Thurs-

[51]Supreme Court Records, 20914.
[52]Supreme Court Records, 20836.
[53]Supreme Court Records, 20449.
[54]Supreme Court Records, 21317.

day, to pay a fine of £5 and to give a bond for his good behavior for three years.[55]

It was probably in connection with the affair of Denyke and Palmer that Judge Samuel Nevill asked Daniel Matthews to tell his father, John Matthews, J.P., of Little Egg Harber, to be present at the Supreme Court in Burlington with all the recognizances about the money-makers. Young Matthews delivered the message to his father in the presence of a Quaker tailor named Hannaniah Ganntt and Charles Loveland, a mariner. According to the Quaker, Justice Matthews, in a rage, exclaimed: "Samuel Nevill may kiss my Arse; I know my Business as well as he doth." The alleged comment reached the ears of Judge Nevill, who instituted legal proceedings against Justice Matthews. Nothing, however, came of the case, since Loveland swore that he was present but heard "no such disrespectful remark."[56]

It is interesting to note that some persons, perhaps for political reasons, seem to have accused Chief Justice Morris himself, presumably of being a counterfeiter, for he noted that persons who accused him were Gershom Mott (a justice of the peace), Woodruff (a merchant of Elizabeth Town), Jones (a parson), and Samuel Blackford (one of the counterfeiters). Morris stated that I. Haywood had heard Woodruff, Abraham Hathaway (one of the counterfeiters) had heard Parson Jones, and Abraham Southerd (a counterfeiter) had heard Blackford make accusation.[57]

For the time being the rash of counterfeiting was past but the evil was by no means stamped out. There was, however, no repetition of the offence on so vast a scale until Samuel Ford and his Morristown gang began their operations many years later.

[55]Supreme Court Records, 20628, and Supreme Court Docket V, pp. 164, 165, 169.

[56]Supreme Court Records, 21085.

[57]Morris Papers, Rutgers University Library. The Chief Justice made a further note to the effect that Henry Palmer, a clerk of the Ringwood Iron Works, "knew that [Timothy] Conner was sent for" to go to Hathaway's.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

MANY questions have come to the Newark Museum regarding Samuel Clarke and his fairy lamps, a subject we found difficult to track down. So it was a pleasurable surprise when we learned that Mrs. Amelia MacSwiggan of Salem, Massachusetts, was hot on the trail. We could ask for no better person to supply the information we sought. Mrs. MacSwiggan was associated with the Essex Institute in Salem for twenty-two years during which time she did much research, wrote a weekly syndicated column on antiques for eight newspapers of the county as well as articles for magazines, and for six years was curator of Essex Institute. Because of Samuel Clarke's connection with Newark, New Jersey, we feel that Mrs. MacSwiggan's article should be of especial interest to those readers who peruse the Attic.

CLARKE'S FAIRY LAMPS

AMELIA E. MACSWIGGAN

A product of the Victorian era, Clarke's "Fairy Lamps" have now been recognized as choice collectors' items, even though they are not considered truly antiques. First introduced in Europe for use in nursery and sickroom, they have been so beautified with many-colored shades and fancy fixtures that they make desirable objects for the modern home, and during the holidays they furnish festive decorations wherever they are placed.

Fairy lamps are strictly candle-burning lamps. They vary in size and form, some lamps being in two pieces while others are in three parts. The two-piece specimens are made to burn the so-called "pyramid" candle, which is encased in paper, while the three-piece lamps are made for burning candles which have no paper casing.

The history of Clarke's Fairy Lamps is one which is continually offering new clues to follow. Obscure names seem to appear from time to time on candle-cups whcih, upon research, usually reveal additional manufacturers and dealers in candles and Fairy Lamps both in this country and in Europe. The fact that Samuel Clarke, in one of his advertisements, mentioned that his lamps were being distributed in Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A., aroused the question of "when and where," until it was definitely found that he did have an establishment in Newark around the late 1880's.

To return to the early history of the Clarke Company of London, it

was ascertained that the original Clarke Company was instituted by George Miller Clarke who, in 1844, was issued a patent for improvements in night lights by the British Patent Office under specification #10029. A later patent was issued in 1857 to another member of the Clarke family, named Samuel, for the use of prepared wicks made of rush, this patent being under #961. The candle factory was conducted by Samuel Clarke for many years at Child's Hill, in London. The night lights were manufactured under the brand names of "Pyramid" and "Fairy," while later, the brand names of "Fairy Pyramid," "Wee Fairy," and "Cricklite" were added, all of which were registered in the United States.

For making these night lights, oleo stearine, a hard grade of tallow, was used and the candles were made with wicks of rush. Some candles had double wicks which, when lighted, turned in opposite directions yielding a wider and brighter flame. One of the lights, the "Pyramid," had a paper cup and a base of plaster so that it could be burned by merely placing it in a flat saucer or dish. The lights were made to burn five, nine or ten hours depending upon their particular brand-names. One candle was labeled "burglar's horror," and was registered in this country. It was advertised as discouraging to burglars if left burning in a hall while the people were away from home in the evening, and it was guaranteed perfectly safe to use.

After manufacturing candles for many years, Mr. Clarke thought that if some appropriate container could be offered to accompany his candles, the sales might increase. For this purpose, Samuel Clarke arranged to buy supplies of glass shades and fittings from various manufasturers. This venture proved successful and all types of shades and fixtures were introduced. Some were fashioned of colored art glass, while others were made of translucent porcelain, many in exquisite lithophane patterns. Fancy dinner-table centerpieces were offered made of glass, containing several lights which, when lighted, produced charming effects. The cheaper lamps were made of pressed or moulded glass in varied colors, but the higher grade models were equipped with silk or parchment shades with fancy centers and bases. Stands were fashioned of cut glass, brass, nickel or silverplate, with plush and mirrors to embellish them. There were ceiling pendants made to hold as many as sixteen or even more lights, and in due time, directions were issued for converting gasoliers into handsome fairy lamps. The necessary fixtures and directions were available in specified shops.

In addition to the lamps used for ornamentation, there were metal stands made to support porcelain food pannikins used for feeding children and invalids. There were lamps equipped to burn certain medicants to aid bronchial ailments, and there was also a bed table which was clamped on the side of the bed and was fitted with a lamp and food-warming vessel, a watch holder and medicine tray, complete

with back-rest for the invalid. All these innovations were registered under the Clarke trademark.

During several worlds fairs, Samuel Clarke was awarded grand prizes for his lights and lamps. In London, he received awards in 1862, 1873 and 1884. He received similar awards in Paris, Moscow, Melbourne and in New Orleans. At the fete of the Botanical Society of London in 1886, he illuminated the gardens with 15,000 fairy lamps. The numerous reports in the press concerning this spectacular display were very flattering. It is said that Queen Victoria was so pleased with these little lamps that she ordered many for her own use and enjoyment.

The fact that the Clarke firm registered its patents in the United States would lead us to believe that the lamps were being sold in this country. In one of his advertisements appearing in the Official Catalogue of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, held in 1886, the contents read:

> Clarke's New Patent 'Fairy Lamps', and 'Fairy Lights', for ornamentally lighting drawing and ball rooms, conservatories, evening fetes, table decorations etc. These lamps are made entirely of glass, and fitted with opal shades. The patent 'Fairy' lights have double wicks, giving a beautiful soft, steady light. The last hour's burning is as brilliant as the first, and are not affected by the strongest draught. They burn ten hours. Samuel Clarke, Patent Pyramid and Fairy Lamp and Light Works, Child's Hill, London; and Newark, New Jersey, U. S. A.

The same catalogue contained several more pages of similar text, all mentioning the Newark, New Jersey, establishment. This interesting fact led to some research in order to ascertain the Newark connection with this London manufacture. It was found that Samuel Clarke was listed in *Newark City Directories,* covering the years 1884-88 inclusive, as a night light manufacturer with offices at 25 Exchange Alley and residence at 7 Center Street in Newark. In 1887, Mr. Clarke had removed his offices one block further, to 37½ Ward Street, at which time he transferred his residence to New York City. It is evident, therefore, that for a period of at least thirty years Samuel Clarke was interested in the manufacture of lighting devices. At the present writing, no trace of his activities in New York City has been found. Perhaps at some later date a more detailed knowledge of Samuel Clarke and his products in the United States may come to light.

Another interesting point not to be ignored is that at the time of Clarke's removal to New York, a firm named F. W. Kralert and Company was listed as manufacturers of decorated shades and lamp bodies. This firm was inaugurated in 1888 at 37 Ward Street in Newark, the same address and the same year that Clarke moved from Newark. Mr. Kralert, it was found, was a native of Austria who had been a resident of this country

for many years and in 1891 was listed as an outstanding business man of Newark, New Jersey.

By 1875, Gansler, Hoffman and Company of Philadelphia were known to be selling or making fairy lamps, and the Phoenix Glass Company was given sole rights to sell the lamps in this country.

A collector of fairy lamps, Mrs. Pearl Darling of Danvers, Massachusetts, acquired a candle cup for one of her lamps, imprinted with the name of a Thomas W. Houchin of New York. Several inquiries revealed that Mr. Hochin was an expert chemist who had started his business in Worcester, Massachusetts, later moving to New York City. After his death in 1904, the company moved to Cleveland, Ohio, and in 1922 another factory was built in Jersey City, New Jersey.

It isn't very often than an industrialist breaks forth into rhyme to sell his products but Samuel Clarke had such a concept of pleasant advertising that he published several lines concerning his lights:

When nights are dark
    Then think of Clarke,
Who's hit the mark precisely;
    For his night lights
Create light nights,
    In which we see quite nicely.

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ROBERT M. LUNNY

In March of 1956 the Society and the University Extension Division of Rutgers offered a series of talks on "The Tradition of the American Home," sponsored by the Woman's Branch. So popular were those six Thursday lectures, that it was decided to present a similar series in 1957 on "The Influence of the Dutch." A small exhibition was set up to illustrate Dutch life in America.

The first of the talks, illustrated with colored slides, as were all of them, was by Mr. Robert G. Wheeler, director of research at Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown. Mr. Wheeler's topic, "Restoring Dutch Home Life through Research," was based primarily on the extensive restoration now in progress at Philipse Castle. The work of re-establishing the life of the Dutch colonists in the Hudson valley is being carried on not only at that site but also among collections of records and documents in various research centers in this country, in Europe and other parts of the world, where the colonists had commercial and cultural interests and contact. Mr. Wheeler's descriptions of the establishment and his pictures brought into sharp focus life in the late seventeenth century on a large estate.

On the same program Mr. Roland Wells Robbins, an archeologist who is now conducting extensive operations at Philipse Castle, spoke on "Archeology in the Dutch Country and Elsewhere." Mr. Robbins showed how in the digging of trial trenches and other exploratory work the topography and the former constructions are being plotted as they existed at the time of the original establishment. Several layers of fill are being carefully excavated, gradually revealing the locations of the secondary buildings near the house and the water line nearby. Mr. Robbins also described his preliminary survey made at Batsto on the Wharton Tract and the full reconstruction of the Saugus Iron Works in Massachusetts.

Dr. Richard P. McCormick, president of the Society, introduced the speakers and acted as moderator at the first session. At the intermission, when refreshments were served by members of the Woman's Branch, the guests had an opportunity to see the galleries and the exhibition set up to complement the lectures.

In the entrance hall was the large painting of "The Dutch Family," recently restored to be hung in this show. It is a group portrait of a Dutch burgher, his wife, his mother, his five sons, and two daughters. Painted on a wood panel by an unidentified artist in Holland about

1610, it shows the ten members of a prosperous family in their rich black costumes. Above each head is the age of the person at the time of the portrait. Other than their ages at the time, there is no clue as to the identity of the family or to the provenance of the painting. Perhaps it was brought to this country by one of the younger sons in the portrait, who came to make his way in the New World, but there is no reason whatsoever for thinking such to be a fact. The tradition that it represents Henry Hudson and his family is entirely without foundation.

One of the finest pieces of furniture featured is the large cabinet on the landing to the second floor. This handsome oak and walnut veneer piece of the early eighteenth century may have been brought from Holland to America about that same time, judging from the meager information available. A less elaborate kas, also from the collection of the Society, was shown on the first floor.

The collection of silver was of special interest. The Newark Museum lent a number of pieces by Dutch silversmiths working in America and in Holland, including a late seventeenth-century pair of forks with trifid handles. Three Dutch pieces of the eighteenth century were a fish-slicer, a cream ladle, and an oval basket with a blue glass liner. A snuff or patch box, decorated with an engraved tulip design on the top and on the bottom the name of the original owner, David Brower (1738-1814) of Hackensack, was also lent by the same institution. Another box, for tobacco, curiously contrived of two tortoise shells with silver mountings, was the work of Jan Kiers, working in Holland about 1675. A fine Dutch fruit fork and spoon with agate handles dating from about 1800 completed the group from the Newark Museum.

Another piece with silver fittings and a chain was a volume of the New Testament, Psalms and Catechism, leather bound on wood boards, published in Dordrecht in 1696, lent by Mrs. C. R. McPherson of Bernardsville.

From the Monmouth County Historical Association came a number of pieces of John Schanck who worked in New York at the end of the eighteenth century. These were a fine teapot, a classic covered sugar urn, a teaspoon, two beakers and a coffin plate. The Museum of the City of New York sent a seventeenth-century Dutch spoon brought to New York prior to 1700 and a fine tankard made there by Schaats early in the eighteenth century.

A fine, large silver dish with a deep scalloped edge, traditionally known as "Peter Stuyvesant's pie dish," was shown. A Spanish-American origin of this unmarked piece has been suggested, probably referring to Stuyvesant's governorship of Dutch Curacao. The lender is Mr. Harford W. H. Powel, Jr. of Andover, Massachusetts.

The work of Gerrit Onckelbag, of which so little is extant, was represented by a sauce pan, made in New York probably in 1695, for John and Catherine Pintard. It

bears the Pintard arms and the initials of Lewis Pintard (1732-1818). The round pan, having the shape of a brandy snifter, is fitted with a long silver handle fashioned like a cannon barrel. The top was made by another New York goldsmith, Jesse Kip, working at that same time. This fine plain piece was lent by Mrs. Stevens Baird of Bernardsville.

A variety of other objects were lent for the exhibition. An oak and leather armchair from Holland, showing Spanish influence, came from the Old Dutch Parsonage at Somerville through the courtesy of Mrs. Joseph S. Frelinghuysen of Far Hills. A portrait of Mrs. Isaac Slover Miller, nee Eleanor Voorhees, of New Brunswick and Newark, painted about 1820 by an unidentified artist, was lent by Mrs. W. Clark Symington of Newark.

Several household items included an ebony jewel or spice cabinet with miniature scenes of seventeenth-century Holland on each drawer, from the Newark Museum. A selection of early Dutch tiles came from Mr. and Mrs. Louis B. Warren of Bernardsville, the New-York Historical Society, and the Museum of the City of New York. Mr. and Mrs. Warren also lent an early eighteenth-century oak feather bed beater, handsomely carved, of the type given as a betrothal gift to one's fiancee. A copper pofferje pan for baking custards in fancy molds also came from the New-York Historical Society. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York sent three pieces of blue resist-dyed cotton, always found wherever the Dutch colonized.

Scenes of early New York were shown in views from the New-York Historical Society: an oil painting of an old Dutch cottage on Beaver Street in 1679, the engraving of the Schenck view of 1692 and two waterfront scenes. From the same source came the Visscher map of 1682 with an inset view of New Amsterdam in 1661-1665, shown beside the John Seller map of 1675, a gift of Mr. P. H. B. Frelinghuysen through the Frelinghuysen Foundation.

At the second and third lectures Mr. Herbert Fisher of Bloomfield very kindly consented to having his excellent colored sketches of Dutch houses in Somerset and Bergen counties shown in an informal exhibition in the Board Room. Mr. Fisher has made a study of Dutch architecture and building methods throughout the state, county by county. His handsome sketches and accompanying descriptive texts were a welcome addition to the exhibition.

Two members of the Museum Committee, Mrs. Richard Hartshorne and Mrs. James C. Higgins, were responsible for the newly displayed costumes on the mannequins recently presented by the Woman's Branch. These same two ladies headed a committee in charge of refreshments each afternoon of the series.

The second group of two lectures dealt specifically with the decorative arts. Miss Jessie J. Poesch of the Henry Francis DuPont Winter-

thur Museum traced through the evidence of documents and prints the origin and adaptation of designs in decoration on many objects of Dutch interior decoration. The persistence of similar designs in silver, in painted decoration and wood inlay on furniture was clearly demonstrated in the comments on his slides made by Mr. Ralph R. Miller, assistant director, Museum of the City of New York. Mrs. Frederick Frelinghuysen, president of the Woman's Branch, which sponsored the lectures, was moderator that day. To Mrs. Frelinghuysen, the originator of the series last year, is due the credit for bearing major responsibility for the program of this year.

The final session on March 21 was opened by the moderator, Mrs. Kenneth Chorley of Hopewell, who introduced Mrs. Lydia B. Powel, keeper of the American Wing, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Mrs. Powel traced the influences of Dutch taste, especially in architecture, on America in three distinct courses: directly from the Netherlands through the colonization of the New World; through the influnce of Prince William of Orange, who later became King William III, and introduced Dutch elements into English taste; and from Holland across the North Sea into East Anglia, in a less pronounced but no less interesting impact. The final speaker of the series, Dr. Richard H. Howland, president of the National Trust of Historic Preservation, spoke of the need for an Argus-like vigilance to avoid the destruction of the fine buildings of our heritage, showing some of the results of both intelligent preservation and of lamentable indifference.

Another highlight of the winter season occurred on February 9. The two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton was celebrated at the Society when a large audience heard Dr. Broadus Mitchell, professor of economics at Rutgers, the State University, speak on "Alexander Hamilton in New Jersey." Dr. McCormick presented Congressman Robert W. Kean of Livingston, who presided and introduced Dr. Mitchell, the author of the biography of Hamilton, the first volume of which, *Alexander Hamilton, from Youth to Maturity,* is being published on April 23. The second and concluding volume will appear in 1958.

Congressman Kean spoke most interestingly in his introductory remarks on the relationship of his forebears with Hamilton when the school boy first arrived on the mainland to make his home in Elizabeth. Dr. Mitchell, in tracing the development of the patriot's career, talked most particularly on those phases and aspects of Hamilton's life occurring in New Jersey. From his first home and schooling, through his military service, his courtship, his economic planning, even to his tragic death on the field of honor, the role of Hamilton was played largely against a New Jersey background. From the broad knowledge, developed through years devoted to the study of his subject, with wit and deep understanding

and sympathy Dr. Mitchell limned the brilliant Hamilton in full color.

The celebration, attended by the mayors of towns where Hamilton had lived and worked, including Morristown and Paterson, and several descendants of Hamilton, concluded with a reception. In the main hall hung a portrait lent by Mr. Alexander Hamilton of New York, a descendant. The Society, from its manuscript collections, showed a number of letters to and from Hamilton and a contemporary newspaper account of his fatal duel with Aaron Burr.

Three feature films, great "hits" in their day, were shown at the Society on successive Saturdays in January to illustrate the technical development from the silent film to the talkies and the prevailing taste of the public at that time. "Excuse My Dust," a light comedy on automobile racing, featured Wallace Reid and Theodore Roberts, with his ever-present cigar. These two stars were at their height in 1920; Reid had invariable success in a series of films on the same motor car theme. A short Buster Keaton comedy, "Balloonatics," shown on the same program, was closer to the taste of the present day in its uproarious adventures involving a balloon, a portable canoe and an indignant feminine camper.

The two succeeding programs, both released in 1935 when the talkies had been developed to a remarkable degree, were "Ruggles of Red Gap," starring Charles Laughton, and "Lives of a Bengal Lancer" with Gary Cooper. A youthful Mr. Laughton gave a magnificent performance of broad comedy in the now classic story by Harry Leon Wilson. He still shares perennial popularity with Mr. Cooper who had top billing in the Yeats Brown account of high adventure beyond the Khyber Pass.

Other activities also have occupied the time and attention of the staff. Mr. Fred Shelley, the librarian, spoke in January on the holdings of the Society relating to the War of 1812 before the Commodore Stephen Decatur Chapter of Essex County, National Society United Daughters of 1812, of which Mrs. William H. Ryan is president.

Early in March, Mr. Harold A. Sonn, editor and publisher of the *New Jersey Genesis;* Mr. Donald H. McLean, former Sixth District Congressman and Judge, Superior Court, New Jersey; and the director of the Society, gave a panel review of the latest volume of the Rev. Henry Charlton Beck at the Elizabeth Public Library. The reviews of *The Roads of Home* created an interesting open discussion on folksay versus history. The director had spoken earlier in the winter before the Women's League for Service of the Bedminster Reformed Church on the unlimited opportunities for contributing to local and social history in the preservation of diaries, photograph albums, budget books, bills and correspondence.

At the annual dinner meeting of the Nutley Historical Society in March, at which Dr. Robert F. Heald was re-elected president and Miss Ann Troy was appointed museum director, your director

spoke on the early formative years of the U.S. Navy, illustrating his talk with naval prints from 1775 to 1815.

In preparation for the reopening in the autumn of the exhibition of New Jersey transportation on the third floor, the Railroadians of America generously donated the painting of the south gallery. The trustees of the Society authorized the painting of the hallway on the same floor, which will also be used for this installation. The stairwell from the first to the third floor and the north gallery on the first floor were recently painted through the generosity of five trustees. This takes care of much of the badly needed painting in the building of the Society and made a great improvement in its appearance. The New Jersey Society of the Sons of the American Revolution recently contributed a handsome new American flag to hang over the doorway.

OTHER NEW JERSEY NEWS

In Trenton the State Museum had as the closing feature of the exhibition of George Catlin's North American Indian portraits a program of tribal customs and dances on January 27. A report on the 1956 show, "The Potter's Art in New Jersey," principal event of the museum's 65th anniversary year, lists over 70,000 visitors, including 549 school and adult groups. The chairman of the Research Committee of the Archeological Society of New Jersey, Dr. Dorothy Cross, reports that the society is concentrating on early Indian colonial contacts in its program and research of the next two years, which, it is hoped, will result in a published report. The most recent publication of the society is *Archeology of New Jersey, Volume II; the Abbott Farm,* by Dr. Cross. It is a complete archeological history and description of this most important excavation two miles below Trenton on the Delaware. The volume is available through the State Museum.

The Historical Society of Gloucester City reports in *The Point,* a well-written little sheet appearing each month, that it celebrated Washington's birthday at a meeting addressed by the Rev. Samuel Steinmetz Jr. on "Our Country's First Citizen." The January *Point* has an interesting description of the Gloucester Fox Hunting Club. At Toms River the Ocean County Historical Society is planning on the return from the Rosenwald Museum in Chicago of the original 1847 lens of Barnegat Lighthouse. The lens will be set up at the lighthouse, celebrating its 100th anniversary in 1957-58. At the time of the opening of the Barnegat Lighthouse State Park later this year, the Society will unveil a bronze bust by Boris Blai of the builder of the lighthouse, Lt. General George Gordon Meade. This historical group also is actively interested in Batsto, has made a recent contribution to the restoration and is further undertaking to furnish a room in the Wharton mansion there. The Atlantic County Historical Society is also furnishing a room.

The two-hundreth anniversary of

Alexander Hamilton's birth was celebrated by the Paramus Historical and Preservation Society at Ridgewood when Fred W. Bogert spoke on "When Hamilton Was Here," mentioning the court martial of General Charles Lee at the "Paramus Kirk." The museum librarian, Mrs. M. H. Cannon, arranged an exhibit on Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth of the First New York Fire Zouaves, the first officer killed in the Union Army, showing several mementoes of that colorful individual. *American Heritage* of August 1956 contains a portfolio and an article on the Zouaves and other volunteer companies.

In recognition of the centenary of the separation of Essex and Union counties, the New Jersey Division of the Newark Public Library installed an exhibit of colonial and Revolutionary documents lent by Mr. John M. Connor of Plainfield. The exhibit was on display from April 15 to May 15.

At Lambert Castle in Paterson the Passaic County Historical Society is currently displaying a variety of belongings of the late Helen Sterrett McBurney, the beautiful and charming daughter of Charles Nelson Sterrett, the Paterson silk manufacturer. From the time of her debut in 1895 she had been a popular figure in Paterson and in Atlanta. The president of the Society, D. Stanton Hammond, has just published a map of the town and township of Bergen (1660-1668), showing all the land parcels in the present Hudson County down to about 1764. The map in five sheets and an index is at the scale of six inches to the mile. It is available for sale through the Genealogical Society of New Jersey, P.O. Box 208, Newark.

The Newark Museum opened "New Accessions of 1956" in January, showing among the paintings works of Edward Hicks, Benjamin West, and Thomas Sully. On the "Coffee Club" on WATV-Channel 13, the second Tuesday of each month, a recent program was on the China trade.

On March 7 at the Newark Museum a handsome exhibition, "Early New Jersey Artists—18th and 19th Centuries," was opened, to continue until May. This comprehensive show includes representative works of such fine artists as John J. Audubon, George Inness, John Watson, George Catlin, Asher B. Durand, and Thomas W. Whitley. The New Jersey Historical Society lent several paintings. William H. Gerdts, curator of paintings and sculpture, spoke on March 28 on "New Jersey Artists in Relation to American Painting" and on April 28 on "Early New Jersey Artists."

The New Brunswick Historical Club now holds its meetings through the season in the handsome New Jersey Room of the Rutgers University Library. In January Dr. William H. Cole of the University spoke on the covered bridges of Vermont, after which one of the members, Mr. Robert Bruns, entertained at a supper.

At the Von Steuben House in North Hackensack the Bergen County Historical Society held its annual reception on Washington's

Birthday when 350 members and guests were entertained. The same day the New Jersey Society of the Sons of the American Revolution held a luncheon at the Hotel Essex House in Newark when Gold Good Citizenship Medals were presented to Chief Justice Vanderbilt and to Brigadier General David Sarnoff. About three hundred attended.

On January 30 the Springfield Historical Society held its fourth annual meeting when Charles F. Heard was reelected president. That day Volume I, Number 1 of their publication came off the press, a four-page bulletin containing historical articles. It will be issued in January and July. At the Society headquarters, the Cannonball House, on February 16 a bronze plaque was presented and dedicated by the New Jersey State Chapter, Daughters of the Founders and Patriots of America. It was presented by Mrs. Rudolph L. Novak, president, and accepted by Mr. Heard. A tea followed when the guests had an opportunity to see the historic building. Mr. James B. Hawley talked on the history of Feltville in the Watchung Mountains at the Springfield meeting on March 28.

When it held its ninetieth annual meeting February 5 at the First Presbyterian Church, the Historical Society of Princeton elected Dr. Rudolph A. Clemen president. The retiring president, Dr. Bruce H. French, spoke on "Historic Princeton." The Burlington County Historical Society held an open house at its headquarters on January 26 when a loan exhibit of mementoes and heirlooms of the Haines family of Burlington County was shown. The Pascack Historical Society, now meeting every other month, held a meeting in January. Several members showed a variety of early objects, the uses of which were guessed by the others present. *Relics,* a four-page mimeographed sheet of the Society, contains interesting short articles on local history.

The New Jersey Chapter of the Esther Stevens Brazer Guild of the Historical Society of Early American Decoration opened at the Plainfield Public Library on February 17 an exhibition of its members' work and collections of early decorated trays, chairs and other objects. The group is interested in preserving design decorations of earlier times and keeping alive the original methods of applying them to household articles. During the two weeks of this large exhibition several lectures and demonstrations were given on such subjects as gilding, stencilling and brush strokes. Mrs. Alexander G. McCaw, 12 Brearly Crescent, Radburn, is president of the Chapter.

At its meeting in February the Morris County Historical Society heard Clyde Perry Allen, a student of the Civil War, speak on "Myths of the Civil War," and in March Miss Alice W. Holland spoke on "America Sings." The address at the April 2 meeting was "Gilbert Stuart" by James Thomas Flexner, biographer of Stuart and writer on the history of American art.

The Museums Council of New Jersey met in January at the Princeton University Museum, after which

the group was shown through "Morven," the official residence of the governor of New Jersey, shortly before it was occupied by Governor and Mrs. Meyner.

The Basking Ridge Historical Society last met on February 21 to hear Mr. Melvin J. Weig speak on the stirring events which took place in that area during the Revolution. Mr. Weig included in his illustrated talk some interesting facts on Alexander Hamilton.

On March 7 a number of trustees and the director were among the many guests of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company at a dinner at the Robert Treat Hotel for the premiere of the motion picture "This Is New Jersey." The film gives a full-length portrait of the state in all its aspects—geography, industry, agriculture, education, recreation among them—in a handsome thirty-minute color picture. The first film was presented that evening by Mr. William A. Hughes, president of the company, to Governor Meyner for the New Jersey State Museum. The title of the picture is taken from a book composed of articles by Mr. John T. Cunningham for the Newark Sunday *News*. Mr. Cunningham, a trustee of the Society, was also co-author of the script. "This Is New Jersey" is available to organizations for showing without charge from the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company.

Each quarter the director requests historical societies and museums to send in news of their activities for inclusion in the "Director's Diary." The results are gratifying as to the number and the quality of the replies. News of historical activity in local areas has state-wide interest and is often helpful to other groups in planning their programs.

NEW MEMBERS

The following are new members of the Society or those who have transferred to another class of membership during the first three months of 1957.

Patron

Dr. Samuel Berg, Newark

Institutional

Passaic-Clifton Herald News, Passaic

Life

Donald A. Sinclair, Highland Park
Ralph Williamson, Pennington
Mrs. Ralph Williamson, Pennington

Contributing

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Charles C. Duebel, Jr., Newark
Gordon Hendricks, New York, N.Y.
New Jersey Society, Daughters of the American Revolution

Jack B. Twichell, Pennington
Robert T. Veit, Far Hills
Mrs. Charles W. Wilcox, West Caldwell

Associate

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Mrs. Robert Braun, Bloomfield
Harvey E. Emery, Trenton
Mrs. Carle Forster, Bloomfield
Norman C. Hadley, Red Bank
James Hand, Rutherford
Kenneth R. Hanson, Fanwood
Mrs. Richard W. Horn, Upper Montclair
John K. Leeds, Elizabeth
Mrs. A. V. S. Olcott, Jr., Hopewell
Mrs. Henry C. Patterson, Swarthmore, Pa.
Leslie L. Post, Newfoundland
Roland R. Ricker, Orange
William M. Smith, Long Branch
Hans-Ulrich Steinhart, New Brunswick
Mrs. Harry E. Thomas, Montclair
Mrs. Theodore Van Loan, Short Hills
Herbert W. Zieger, Montclair

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

In this department are combined short articles based on holdings of the Society's library, and listings of new publications about New Jersey. The contributors, Mr. Shelley and Miss Studley are, respectively, librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society and principal New Jersey librarian of the Newark Public Library.

FROM THE LIBRARY

FRED SHELLEY

In recent years, especially, an awareness of the value of recording and describing early American imprints has grown. Much is revealed in a study of items printed in a given locality: sermons, political arguments, laws and assembly proceedings, graduation programs and lists of college students, school texts, newspapers, almanacs, and occasionally a purely literary production. In New Jersey we can turn to four partial lists of imprints before 1800 beside the great general bibliographical tools, Charles Evans' *American Bibliography* and Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America.* (A New Jersey imprint simply means a book or pamphlet or broadside or newspaper printed by a particular printer within the boundaries of the state.) Two pioneering efforts by William Nelson at the turn of the century were no doubt quite useful in their day. In 1930 Miss Constance H. Humphrey published in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* a list of our state's imprints, 1723-83, and nine years later Miss Lucile M. Morsch published a list for the years 1784-1800. Though the last two lists are valuable today, new and continuing research has found many new New Jersey items. Mrs. Joseph W. Greene, while librarian, located and cataloged many items in the Society's collection. Mr. George C. Rockefeller, of Mountain Lakes, has carried on research for more than twenty-five years. He has discovered no less than twenty per cent more items than have been recorded and described previously.

During the winter and spring the Society, through the generosity of the Frelinghuyson Foundation, has the benefit of the presence of a Rutgers University Library School graduate, Mr. Hans-Ulrich Steinhart. He has been assigned the task of organizing the results of Mr. Rockefeller's research and setting up in precise form the final copy. It is expected that copy virtually ready for the printer will be in hand by summer or fall.

From time to time, even at this late date, new New Jersey imprints turn up. This is a plea to one and all—individual members, librarians, collectors, and others—who may know of New Jersey imprints *not*

recorded in the bibliographies listed above, to notify Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Shelley at the Society. Though completeness may be impossible, every effort is being made to come as close to that ideal as possible. The co-operation of everyone who reads these lines will be deeply appreciated.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

WITHOUT question one of the greatest obstacles in the pursuit of New Jersey history today as a hobby or as a discipline is the lack of adequate bibliographies. The lack has recently been remedied in part by the issuing in January, 1957, of *This is New Jersey,* a bibliography compiled by Dons M. Perry and presented in mimeographed form by the library of the State Teachers College at Trenton. Copies have been distributed to New Jersey libraries by the Bureau of Public and School Library Services in Trenton. While by no means exhaustive (fourteen pages), the bibliography touches many facets of New Jersey's life and history, Indians, resources, politics, constitution, government, education, and industry. General descriptive material on New Jersey is adequately listed and the outstanding histories are included. Local history, except for Mercer County, is necessarily kept to a minimum. Since this is a reading list for students, rather than a buying list, no distinction is made between books out-of-print and those still available, although publication dates are given. Annotations are brief but helpful.

New Jersey historians may note immediately important books which should have been included—to mention one, Hubert G. Schmidt's editing of *The Story of an Old Farm* published by the Rutgers University Press under the title *Lesser Crossroads.* An unusual feature is a list of periodicals about New Jersey, currently being issued. In addition a note indicates that the Teachers College library maintains a card file of indexing of valuable articles on New Jersey in the PROCEEDINGS and in general magazines.

We would highly recommend that this bibliography be made available to those persons who, seeing the new motion picture, "This is New Jersey," are inspired to learn more about our state.

REVIEWS

Dr. Horace G. Richards, who reviews *Ho! for Cape Island,* is associate curator of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. A paleontologist who has been making field trips to the South Jersey beaches since 1927, Dr. Richards was a research associate in the New Jersey State Museum from 1934 to 1942. A leading authority on New Jersey's marine animals and fossil shells, he is the author of *Animals of the Seashore,* 1938. His *One Hundred South Jersey Novels,* an

annotated list, was published by the New Jersey Folklore Society in 1947.

Ho! for Cape Island! By Robert Crozer Alexander. (Cape May, N.J.: Published by the author, 1956. 136 pages. Price $3.00.)

This new book is the story of Cape May during the first half of the nineteenth century when it was known as Cape Island and when it was just beginning to be an important seashore resort. The author has gone to original sources such as newspapers, court proceedings, old manuscripts and letters to compile a fascinating story of events that took place in the southern tip of New Jersey during the early eighteen hundreds.

Chapters deal with the early hotels and boarding houses, the lighthouses, the boats and stage coaches which brought visitors to Cape Island, as well as some of the visitors themselves. The book is well illustrated with some twenty-seven carefully selected pictures and maps which supplement the text. It is attractively bound with end papers showing the beach front at Cape May in 1850.

One cannot read this book without a feeling of sadness for those early days of Cape Island when life was simpler and when the "expenses incident to a Cape May trip . . . will not fall much short of $2 per diem." At any rate, Mr. Alexander has given us a graphic account of those fascinating days.

The book should be in every collection of Jerseyana, especially those which are concerned with Cape May County. The title of the book is taken from advertisements for steamboats which carried passengers between Philadelphia and Cape Island. —Horace G. Richards.

This is Trenton; a Handbook on the Government of the City of Trenton, New Jersey. By the League of Women Voters of Trenton. (Trenton: League of Women Voters, 1956. 113 pages.)

The League of Women Voters has done an excellent job in the publication of this work. It is, as the subtitle states, a handbook on the government of the city of Trenton. Each department is described with appropriate charts to supplement visually the subject matter. This feature alone is valuable to the citizen interested in unraveling the maze of municipal government.

The first section is a short history of the city. The author of this section has reduced the voluminous history of the city in a very coherent and concise manner. These qualities no doubt influenced the choice of this book for adoption for use in the public schools in classes of government.—Richard W. Nevis.

Ships in the Sky. The Story of the Great Dirigibles. By John Toland. (New York: Henry Holt, 1957. 352 pages. Price $4.95)

It can be said that the story of the dirigibles begins and ends in New Jersey. A few men had gone aloft in baskets attached to balloons before Dr. Solomon Andrews, of Perth Amboy, built and successfully op-

erated the *Aereon.** (The Frenchman Blanchard glided from Philadelphia to the vicinity of Woodbury in January, 1793, to the astonishment of the local inhabitants.) Dr. Andrews offered his invention to the United States government in the hope that the Civil War would be shortened by its use. All this Mr. Toland relates and following it fascinating accounts of each successive step in the development of the airship—by the Brazilian Santos-Dumont in France, by Count Zeppelin in Germany, and the Italian, the British, and the American efforts.

The Naval Air Station at Lakehurst was a central scene of activity in America. Here were stationed the *Shenandoah,* the *Los Angeles,* the *Akron,* and the *Macon.* Here came the *Graf Zeppelin* from Germany on several trips that convinced multitudes throughout the world that this might be the safe, practical air travel in the future. And then, on a sad day in 1937, came the *Hindenberg* and with her explosion (it took only thirty-four seconds before she—or he as the Germans have it—was a complete ruin) came the end of serious thought of the dirigible for commercial or military purposes.

A strange fatality seemed attached to each effort. Of the American dirigibles, only the *Los Angeles* escaped a violent end; even she had an incredible adventure, as one of Mr. Toland's illustrations shows. For several moments she stood straight in the air on her nose while attached to the mooring mast at Lakehurst and miraculously returned to a horozontal position. Yet one solid accomplishment came from it all: The small Navy blimps, a familiar sight to most of us in New Jersey, were of incalculable value in World War II and are repeatedly successful in rescue operations at sea today.

The saga may be over, or could it be as Mr. Toland hints that there may be hope for the future? Should it be so, New Jersey and Lakehurst will certainly see the new dirigibles. —Fred Shelley.

The Presbyterian Enterprise. Sources of American Presbyterian History. Edited by Maurice W. Armstrong, Lefferts A. Loetscher, and Charles A. Anderson. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956. 336 pages. Price $4.50.)

Numerous references to Presbyterians in New Jersey are found in this carefully complied source-book of historical documents. The materials selected cover the whole range of organized Presbyterianism in America. The first document refers to a sermon delivered at Freehold by a candidate for ordination. The log-college, the Great Awakening including the ministry of the Rev. John Tennent at Freehold, the "New Side"-"Old Side" controversy, David Brainerd's missionary activity, the establishment of the College of New Jersey, John Witherspoon, and Woodrow Wilson

*See Mary Kingsley, "The Flying Jerseyman, Dr. Solomon Andrews of Perth Amboy," Proceedings, July, 1953, pp. 163-83, which was used by Mr. Toland in the course of his research.

are all prominently mentioned in the story of the denomination. The Presbyterian Historical Society is to be congratulated on the appearance of this volume.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Duties of the New Jersey Municipal Clerk; a Guide to the Functions and Responsibilities of the Office; Municipal Guide Series. By Rutgers University Bureau of Government Research. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1955. 32 pages.)

History of St. Peter's Church in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, 1685-1956. By William Carroll McGinnis. (Perth Amboy, 1956. 99 pages.)

Industrial Sands of New Jersey. Bulletin Number Six, Rutgers University Bureau of Mineral Research. By James H. C. Martens. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1956. 259 pages. $2.00.)

The Resurgent Years. History of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), 1911-1927. By George S. Gibb and Evelyn H. Knowlton. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. 754 pages. Price $7.50.)

PERIODICALS

A great librarian and editor, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, once referred to himself as "an historic powder-monkey to pass forward ammunition to historic gunners." The material indexed in these columns may be regarded in somewhat the same light. It is hoped that articles on special phases and incidents of New Jersey history, treated briefly in magazines, may suggest interesting areas for further study by students or advanced scholars.

A contribution to the history of American clock-making is presented in an article listed below on Aaron Dodd Crane by William E. Drost of East Orange. Part of the research for this article on the Caldwell-born clock inventor was done at our Society's library.

History

"Aaron Dodd Crane, a New Jersey Clockmaker" by William E. Drost, in the *Bulletin* of the National Association of Watch and Clock Collectors, December 1956, p. 353.

"And Get a Good Doctor," in *William and Mary Quarterly,* October 1956, pp. 565-68. Highwayman Joseph Taylor brought to life after hanging at Egg Harbor, 1789.

"The Army Contractors for the Niagara Campaign, 1755-1756," by Theodore Thayer in *William and Mary Quarterly,* January 1957, pp. 31-46. Activities of William Alexander as secretary to General William Shirley, by a member of the Newark Rutgers faculty.

"A Bell with a Remarkable History," in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, November 1956, pp. 37-38. Paterson school bell brought to America by Joseph Bonaparte.

"The Capture of John Cadmus," in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, November 1956, pp. 40-43. J. H. Fisher of Paterson.

"The Collection of Dr. William S. Serri," by Helen Comstock in *Antiques,* March 1957, pp. 254-59. Queen Anne and Chippendale furniture owned by Dr. Serri, of Merchantville and Swedesboro. Text and illustrations.

"A Fair Exchange Is No Robbery" (Glimpses of Local History, No. 12), in *Relics,* December-January 1957, p. 4. An early incident of wife-swapping in Bergen County.

"The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, 1681-1700," by John E. Pomfret, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* April 1956, pp. 137-63.

"Fisher's Steam Carriage," in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, November 1956, pp. 39, 40.

"The Free-Wheeling Train," in *Relics,* December-January 1957, p. 2. A train which ran without an engine at Hillsdale, N.J.

"Friends of the New Germany: the Bund and German-American Relations" by Joachim Remak in *Journal of Modern History,* March 1957, pp. 38-41. Official status of Fritz Kuhn.

"The Germans of Colonial New Jersey, Part 3," by Hubert G. Schmidt, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1957, pp. 127-33.

"The Girls behind the Guns—Molly Corbin and Molly Pitcher," by Fairfax Downey, in *American Heritage,* Decmber 1956, pp. 46-48.

"Governor Cosby and His Enemies, 1732-36," by Vincent Buranelli, in *New York History,* October 1956, pp. 465-87.

"Governor Livingston and the 'Sunshine Patriots,'" by Thomas P. Robinson and Lawrence H. Leder, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* July 1956, pp. 394-97. See also, "Letters to the Editor," January 1957, pp. 120-21, for corrections.

"The Great Sea War; Fine Printmakers Celebrated the Heroes and Heroics of 1812," by Robert M. Lunny, in *American Heritage,* April 1956, pp. 12-21. Superbly illustrated article includes matter on Jersey-born Captain James Lawrence, Stephen Decatur, and others.

"Hamilton's Notes in His Pay Book of the New York State Artillery Company," by E. P. Panagopoulos, in *American Historical Review,* January 1957, pp. 310-25. Light thrown on Alexander Hamilton's ideas on manufactures and finance.

"History of Our Society" (continued from October issue), in Essex County Dental Society, November 1956, pp. 10-16, December, pp. 14-18.

"'Joint S.A.R.-D.A.R. Memorial Committee' in N.J. to Replace Some Fifty Headstones for Revolutionary War Veterans This May," in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1957, p. 126. Cemeteries included are in Springfield and New Providence.

"New Jersey Lackawannaland—Where Washington Fought and Slept," in *The Lackawanna,* February 1957, pp. 4, 5, 22.

"Newark of Yesteryear—1857, Gas Lamps, Bulging Bustles, Depression, Opened a Century of Progress," in *The Newarker,* Annual 1957, p. 8, 9.

"Nicholas Collins' Appeal to American Scientists, 'An essay on those inquiries in natural philosophy which at present are most beneficial to the United States of America,'" edited by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., in *William and Mary Quarterly,* October 1956, pp. 519-50.

"Old 'Park Ridge No. 12,'" in *Relics,* December-January 1957, p. 3. New Jersey and New York railroad engines named for towns along the road.

"The 'Pearl Craze' in Passaic County," in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, November 1956, pp. 38-39, 44.

"Philadelphia Microfilms 1½ Miles of Record Books," by Clarence A. Dockens, deputy commissioner of Records, Philadelphia, Pa., in *American City,* February 1957, pp. 120, 121. Included is the "Walking Deed" from the Lenni Lenapes to William Penn's son on August 22, 1737.

"A Reporter at Large—the Meadows" by John Brooks, in *New Yorker,* March 9, 1957, pp. 98-115; March 16, pp. 108-27. The New Jersey meadows.

"St. Anthony's and the Episcopal Tradition" in *Newark Churchman,* November 1956, pp. 6-7. Italian parish in Hackensack, founded 1915.

"St. John's Hits Century Mark," in *Newark Churchman,* November 1956, pp. 3, 4. Centennial window theme reflects history of Boonton and Morris Canal.

"Soul Savers, Grammarians, and the Red Man," by C. J. Stevens, in *American Speech,* February 1956, pp. 40-51. David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder.

"An Unsaintly Saint," in *Relics,* December-January 1957, p. 2. Mnason, the Santa Claus who lived in Park Ridge seventy years ago.

"The Western Campaign of 1779; the Diary of Quartermaster Sergeant Moses Sproule of the Third New Jersey Regiment in the Sullivan Expedition of the Revolutionary War, May 17-October 17, 1779," edited by R. W. G. Vail, in *New-York Historical Society Quarterly,* January 1957, pp. 34-69.

Genealogy

"Bible Records," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1955, pp. 13-24. Pancoast, Haines, Stryker, Taylor, Rogers, and related families.

"The Goulder Family Amended," by Richard W. Cook, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1955, pp. 73-75.

"Index to Liber C (1740-1752), Essex County Court Minutes," by William Y. Pryor, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1955, pp. 46-47; July/October 1955, pp. 94-95. Continued: surnames M-U.

"List of Burials of Oldest Burial Ground in Newark," Part 2, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1957, p. 134.

"Mercer County Gravestones: Princeton Baptist Churchyard, Penns Neck," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July/October 1955, pp. 49-62.

"Mercer County Gravestones: Titusville Presbyterian Churchyard," by

Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1955, pp. 25-34. Concluded: surnames H-W.

"A New Publication: Map of the Town of Bergen," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1955, pp. 1-2. Introducing the newly-published genealogical (or historical) map of Bergen, in six sheets, showing land owners from 1660 to 1764.

"Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Cranbury," by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1955, pp. 35-45; July/October 1955, pp. 76-91. Concluding the baptisms: 1819-33.

"Some Jersey Family Historians," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1955, p. 48. Another list of persons compiling histories of New Jersey families.

"Washington Presbyterian Church Records," by Helen P. Alleman, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* January/April 1955, pp. 3-12; July/October 1955, pp. 63-72. Formerly called Mansfield Wood House. Baptisms 1817-27, marriages, 1817-49.

"Stockton - Phillips - Cook Corrections, Hunterdon-Mercer County, N.J.," in *American Genealogist,* January 1957, pp. 45-48.

Industry

"81 Years of Company History Reflected in Historical Exhibit," in *Pru News,* February 1, 1957, p. 2.

"'The Howard': out of a Depression in 1857 a Financial Institution Grew to Serve a Growing Newark," in *The Newarker,* Annual 1957, pp. 15, 26.

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Prudential Insurance Company (Dryden Memorial Library)
Public Service Electric & Gas Company
Puder & Puder
Radio Corporation of America
Raybestos-Manhattan, Inc.
Reach, Yates & Mattoon, Inc.
Suburban Propane Gas Corporation
United Advertising Corporation
United States Metals Refining Company
Weston Electrical Instrument Corporation

Eliza Hendricks
aged 12 years
Remember me as this you see
When I am dead and in my Grave
This Piece of work my friends Shall have
Henrietta Elizabeth Baldwin
compleated this work in the ninth
year of her age July 17th 1836

SAMPLERS: *Left.* Sampler worked about 1830 by Eliza Hendricks (*c.*1818-c.1870), later Mrs. John C. Denman, then aged twelve. Gift of Mrs. Eliza D. Reinhardt. *Right.* Sampler made by Henrietta Elizabeth Baldwin (later Mrs. Theodore R. Beardsley on July 17, 1836, when she was nine years of age. Gift of Mrs. Mabel Baldwin and Grace Sargeant Beardsley. *(N.J.H.S. Collection.)*